

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

NO. CXLVI.

ART. I.—A NEW STUDY OF THE ORIGIN OF CHRISTIANITY.

A VERY remarkable examination of the Gospels has lately appeared in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, from the pen of M. Ernest Havet, of the Institute. As I am not acquainted with any work on the subject so trenchant, independent and uncompromising, I here attempt to represent its chief outlines, at the same time observing that I do not undertake to pledge either the reader or myself to a complete acceptance of all the arguments adduced, or all the conclusions drawn.

Almost every one must have heard of the international competition to paint a camel. How the English artist went to Egypt and made careful studies for six months; how the Frenchman hastened, in a spare moment, to the Jardin-des-Plantes and threw off a spirited *ébauche*; while the German shut himself up for a year, and at the end of the time produced the Idea of the animal evolved from the depths of his moral consciousness. Much in the same spirit has the subject of Jesus been recently treated by three representatives of the chief nations of the civilised world, Herr Strauss, M. Renan, and Professor Seeley. But the present study is not strictly in the style of the *Leben Jesu*, of the *Vie de Jésus*, or of our own *Ecce Homo*. Without the metaphysical ambitiousness of the first, it has neither the artistic character of the second, nor the ethical exertion of the third. Yet it will be found by no means uninteresting or purely negative; and it deserves attention, as the contribution of an unbiassed inquirer, who collects and analyses the evidence, and

endeavours to show not only what may, but what must, have been.

M. Havet's study is full of original thoughts and of facts not previously much utilised. He begins with pointing out that the propagation of the Christian doctrine which began in the days of Claudius, only took the place of a Jewish propaganda that had been already going on for some years; that it was introduced at a time when both Jews and Gentiles were on the look-out for a new spiritual dawn; and that its progress was hastened, if not determined, by the fall of Jerusalem about twenty-five years later than the first appearance of the new sect at Antioch. Connecting his subject in this way with the general history of the shores of the Mediterranean at the time, the author contrives to place it in a new and very striking light.

Already (37 B.C.) Herod the Great had succeeded in supplanting the Asmonean dynasty who were the last Jewish rulers of Palestine. The sceptre had departed from Judah, and the prophecy (Genesis XLIX., 10) was in all men's minds and creating a general expectation of the coming of Shiloh. Herod had suppressed, with equal courage and cruelty, the marauding bands of the North and East; but the adventurous spirits of those quarters clung tenaciously to their lawless aspirations; in particular we are told of "Judas the Galilean," who proclaimed the Kingdom of the Lord (*Jos. Ant.* XVIII., 1, 6,) and "drew away much people after him" (*Acts V.* 37). It is more than probable that this leader at least announced himself as the messiah, Christ or "the Anointed," as also did a contemporary adventurer, named Theudas, who said that "he was some one." Then followed John the Baptist; regarded by the Church as the Forerunner of the Gospel dispensation, but thought at the time by many to be "the Christ" (*Luke III.*, 15) and preached as such by his own disciples, as we are distinctly informed by Clemens Romanus. So great was the sensation produced by John, that Josephus does not hesitate to say that the defeat of Herod Antipas by Aretas, the Arabian, was generally attributed to the Divine displeasure kindled by his putting John to death. When Jesus first appeared in public as a teacher, Antipas is represented as saying that he must be John risen from the dead; and all seems to point to the conclusion that Messianic expectations were in the air, and that the Advent was only one of several such occurrences of the period.

"In spite of which," pursues our author, "Jesus has remained definitively the one Messiah of Christianity; and the study of the sources of that religion must end at last in the study of His life. Than which, however, nothing is more difficult. For we

have no other information on its details but what we find in the documents called 'the Four Gospels;' and these documents are but meagre records. Firstly, they are not contemporaneous with the events which they record, for all are certainly of later date than the fall of Jerusalem. Next, being written in Greek, they must have been addressed to countries foreign to the scene of the events recorded, at a distance from eye-witnesses, both as to time and as to place."

He goes on to say of these documents (of which the earliest must have been written not less than forty years after the events) that Strauss has so completely demonstrated their irreconcilable discrepancies, that the only chance for those who wish to believe them capable of reconciliation is—not to open Strauss's book, to which no serious reply is, in his opinion, possible. For his own part, while admitting that all narratives must present *bonâ fide* differences of statement, M. Havet declares that it often seems to him that the true story has been lost, and that the loss has been supplied by the work of the imagination.

No doubt, there are traces of an earlier record, in the Epistles which—after negative criticism has done its work—remain clearly attributable to S. Paul. Of these M. Havet allows four, the Epistles to the Galatians, to the Corinthians (1st and 2nd) and to the Romans. But, seeing that S. Paul had never known the Lord, his brief references—apart from the value assignable to inspiration—are by no means abundant. In this state of doubt and difficulty M. Havet is desirous of making the most of that Gospel which is generally allowed by the best critics to be the most ancient; and accordingly the rest of his article is chiefly devoted to a study of the narrative called "the Gospel according to S. Mark."

M. Havet is satisfied that we must begin by entirely eliminating the miraculous element even from this narrative. In such things it is evident to him that there can be no "actuality." If asked how he accounts for the persistent belief of the authors and readers of these comparatively early records in such things, he replies:—"It was believed that Jesus had done miracles because it was believed that he was the Messiah; for it was believed that the Messiah must do miracles." He traces this expectation to a too literal interpreting of the visions of the revival of Israel proclaimed by Isaiah; and holds that by a two-fold error the figurative language of the prophet was taken too literally, and then its imagined fulfilment was taken as a proof that Israel's long-looked-for Messiah had come. Those who, after the death of Jesus, believed that he had been the Messiah, believed that the signs that had been announced as

Messianic must have accompanied his coming. To these reasons, acting on an observation of the power which Jesus really possessed of chasing away those sufferings of the nervous system believed at the time to be of Satanic origin, M. Havet attributes both the records of miracles and their ready belief.

As for the special value of the Gospel that bears the name of Mark, it is considerable, but not unqualified. It is probably not the record mentioned by Papias; as has been shown by the author of *Supernatural Religion* (a book which M. Havet does not seem to have met with); and therefore we cannot be certain that, like that record, it contains any portion of tradition derived from S. Peter. And it was written, like all the similar narratives that have come down to us, in a foreign language and at a distant time. Professor Christlieb, the convinced but learned apologist of Bonn, admits that "the preference for the second Gospel may be the result of critical investigation;" and, since he nowhere refutes that conclusion, we must presume that he was unable to do so—unless, indeed, he thought the point not sufficiently material to deserve inquiry. He also allows that this Gospel omits not only the Incarnation and Infancy, but also the appearances after death, and much of the other elements of miracle elsewhere so abundant. Yet even this simple narrative appears to M. Havet to be of no greater authority than as an edifying little story, founded perhaps on fact, but published for the sake of spiritual instruction rather than of historical information. It is as if an educated Hindu were to publish at Petersburg, or Paris, about the end of the present century, a pious tract containing an imaginary account of the carpenter of Amritsir, whose movement was nipped in the bud about the year 1872.

In analysing this book M. Havet is, of course, careful to explain that he rejects every remaining element of the supernatural. From his point of view not only are miracles impossible, but prophetic utterances also. For the antidote to these postulates, we must refer once more to the excellent work of Professor Christlieb,* of which it may fairly be said that no apologetic book has appeared at once so vigorous and so much in harmony with the philosophical thought and language of the present day. To the enlightened theologian, anxious to preserve a reasonable orthodoxy without entirely shutting his ears to modern controversy, no more useful work could be commended.

M. Havet, however, is in no danger of falling into the error that has so often characterised modern Sceptics; that

* There is an English translation *Christian Belief*. Edinburgh, F. and of this book; *Modern Doubt and* T. Clark. 1874.

Euhemerism which, after rejecting the supernatural, is prepared to accept all the rest. Far from that : he accepts Grote's excellent principle, that in such matters the possible is equally dependent on evidence. It may be somewhat simpler, from his point of view, to deal with the impossible ; and its introduction may taint a record which, but for its presence, might pass without comment. But, when comment has been once attracted, we may often find less marvellous matter no better vouched for than the rest.

All that remains quite certain, according to M. Havet, is that Jesus of Nazareth was a Jewish reformer who was crucified under Pontius Pilate. To this simple residuum does he reduce the creeds. And the striking novelty of his treatment is the boldness with which he undertakes to establish the doubtful, if not the absolutely untrue, character of these three propositions which most of the least compromising of Rationalists have hitherto regarded as beyond question. Namely :—

1. That Jesus claimed to be the Christ.
2. That He was put to death after a solemn condemnation pronounced by the chief priests and elders of the Jews, Pilate being the agent of this sentence.
3. That He proclaimed that God had abandoned the Jews as His chosen people ; and that the inheritance of Israel had passed to the Gentiles.

I hope that I have sufficiently guarded myself against the supposition that I am endorsing all these conclusions. I have neither the learning nor the ability for their adequate appreciation, and I am far from admitting that the supernatural is necessarily the impossible. My object will be attained if I can convey to those who have not access to the original, some notion of the views of a student who appears to avoid many of the faults of his predecessors, and to treat a subject of great and general interest with a considerable amount of research, originality, and general fairness.

Pointing out numerous passages wherein Jesus is represented as discouraging the notion of His Messiahship and as forbidding all announcements in that sense, our author contends that the opposite passages in which he seems to favour the notion must be regarded with suspicion. The writer of the book would not, he thinks, have introduced so many repetitions of the prohibition to tell any one that "He was the Christ," unless it had been notorious that no one had heard Him say so, and that the notion had only arisen when He was no more. Even in the supposed trial before the Sanhedrim (Mark XIV,) we are told that it was found impossible to obtain sufficient evidence on which to convict Jesus of having made this statement. That He then furnished

the requisite testimony out of His own mouth and was thereupon sentenced to death, our author does not consider historically true. We shall come to some further remarks on this presently. In the meantime we are called upon to note that if, after the death of Jesus, His followers concluded that He had been the expected Messiah, occasional declarations, both during His trial and during His antecedent ministry, would appear to them proper and would find place in their literature. Add that, in the oldest record, Jesus is never represented as calling God "His Father," while for Himself the expression used is "the Son of Man."

As to the second point, the method of His condemnation and execution, M. Havet asks how it can be supposed that the Sanhedrim of the Jews, after condemning Jesus in their own tribunal, should have been under the necessity of going to the Roman tribunal to obtain what we should now call "the death-warrant." There is no reason to suppose that they had not the power to carry out their own sentences; they did so, shortly after the death of Jesus, in the case of the Proto-martyr Stephen; they did so, many years later, in the case of S. James. It is true that on this latter occasion they were reprov'd by the Roman Government; but it was not for sentencing or for executing their sentence; it was for bringing James to trial without authority. The authorisation of the Government was required for the convening of the Jewish Court; but when once it was convened, its powers had no limit and required no confirmation. An appeal there was, for a Roman citizen, as we see in the instance of S. Paul; but Jesus was not a Roman citizen, and He made no attempt to appeal. Lastly, no reality appears to attach to the pretended accusation of blasphemy.

What we must suppose, therefore, is that the Sadducean section of the Jewish hierarchy, alarmed by the popular manifestation that had attended the entry of the Galilean Rabbi into Jerusalem, and anxious, perhaps, for reasons of their own, to disembarass themselves of His presence, made use of the official susceptibilities of Pilate to denounce Him as a seditious demagogue; and that, on this denunciation, Pilate himself sentenced Him to the painful and degrading punishment which the Romans reserved for slaves and outcasts. This is confirmed, not only by the well-known record of Tacitus, but even by an apparently authentic tradition preserved in the fourth Gospel. The words of Tacitus are:—"He from whom they (the Christians) were named, Christus, underwent the last penalty in the reign of Tiberius, by order of P. Pilatus, the procurator." In the "gospel according to John" we are further told that the Jewish rulers said, "If we let this man go on, the people will believe in Him, and the

Romans will come and destroy the temple and the nation.....And Caiaphas said, It is expedient that one man die instead of the people, and that the people do not perish." This is in accordance with the stern fanatic patriotism of the Jewish nation, but by no means requires us to believe that Jesus was the inaugurator of a new dispensation, who threw down the gauntlet to the Church of His time, and was delivered to the secular arm as a blameless blasphemer. To think so is to contradict His own words:—"I came not to destroy the Law but to fulfil." And, lastly, we are called upon to observe how this conclusion tallies with and explains the singular silence, upon the subject of Jesus, of the contemporaneous Jewish historians, Justus and Josephus. Had Jesus been a sectary who attempted a religious revolution, and if the Jewish nation and their rulers had thereupon judged and condemned Him, the case would have formed an affair of too much importance to be entirely ignored by Jewish historians. If, on the contrary, He was merely a too ardent Israelite who first excited the people of Galilee, and finally the Holy City itself, so that the more cautious of His countrymen gave Him up to the police with a view to their own security, the circumstance might well have appeared to Jewish historians an embarrassing business about which it was more prudent to make no remark.

And this brings M. Havet to the third and last of his propositions. What is the evidence that Jesus was an opponent of Judaism who contemplated the admission of the world at large to the spiritual advantages arrogated as the special privilege of the chosen people? Certainly not, thinks our author, the prophetic denunciations of Mark XII. and Matthew XXIII. The sufferings of His followers there referred to were not undergone till the persecution under Hanan in A.D. 62. The murder of Zacharias, the son of Barachias, took place later still, in the temple, during the siege under Titus, as we learn from Josephus. To represent Jesus as speaking of these future events as already past, is to attribute to Him an amount of prophetic insight which is opposed to M. Havet's notions of sound criticism. It is further, doing a great violence to grammar. This passage must have been written after the fall of Jerusalem, whatever we may think of the rest of the narrative.

But, even in a more general way, it is hard to believe, says M. Havet, that the sentiments found in these predictions and in such utterances as the parable of the vineyard, can be authentic monuments of the teaching of Jesus: for they are not capable of reconciliation with the rest of the record. Thus:—"Go not into the way of the Gentiles; and if ye come to a city of the Samaritans, enter ye not" (Matt. X. 5.). They are also told that

they "shall not have gone over the cities of Israel till the Son of Man be come" (*i.d.* 23.). And in the Acts of the Apostles (XI, 19, 20), we find that, after the death of Stephen and consequent persecution, the dispersed members of the sect travelled about the Levant, "preaching the word to none but unto the Jews only: but some—who were natives of Cyprus and Cyrene—when they came to Antioch, preached the Lord Jesus to the Grecians." This (nearly ten years after the Crucifixion) is the first notice of any preaching to the Gentiles, if we except the isolated, and almost contemporaneous mission of Peter to the devout Centurion Cornelius, who may have been a proselyte, and who (with his associates) evidently constituted a special and controverted case. Nor was it, apparently, until the events commemorated in the Epistle to the Galatians that the erection of a distinct Gentile Church took place, through the courageous initiative of the new Apostle Paul, who had never known the Lord.* The celebrated commission of Peter, upon which Catholicism so much rests, is given up as a simple anachronism; indeed, the Greek play upon words is enough to prove that the speech could not have been uttered by a teacher addressing his followers in Aramaic.

As to the attacks on the Pharisees which fill so large a place in some of the Gospels, M. Havet remarks that it is only in the fourth Gospel that we meet with any notice of a corresponding hostility on the part of the Pharisees against Jesus; while the most energetic of His followers, S. Paul, was not only a Pharisee, but claimed the doctrine of the immortality of the soul as a point in common between Pharisaism and the Gospel. Indeed, in one Gospel (Luke XIII. 31) the Pharisees are represented as taking active steps to save Jesus from the pursuit of Herod: while they are not once mentioned in Mark's account of the Passion as taking any part in the proceedings against Him. Again, in the Acts, we find Gamaliel, a chief doctor of the school, defending Peter before the Sanhedrim; and elsewhere (XV., 5) we come upon "certain of the sect of the Pharisees who believed." It is, remarks M. Havet, difficult to reconcile such evidences of friendly relations with those which are elsewhere represented as existing between Jesus and the Pharisees. Further, in Josephus, we read that, when the persecution of the Christians of Jerusalem took place under Hanan, "they who were most strict in the observance of the Law blamed their execution." The fact that Hanan was the head of the Sadducees shows that the historian is speaking of the Pharisees; and if Jesus had been such a bitter opponent

* M Renan shows reason for denunciation of S. Paul and his teaching in the message to the Church of Ephesus (*Antichrist.*) believing that the book of *Revelation* (written in A.D. 69.) contains a

of that school, it is hard to understand why they should have shown such favour to His followers. It seems more probable that the Evangelists, writing after the fall of Jerusalem, express a state of things which occurred at a later date, when embittered feelings had been created by the national misfortunes of the Jews, and when their most influential sect became hostile to that other sect whom they had learned to look on as apostates and deserters from the commonwealth of Israel.

Nevertheless, after this searching scrutiny (in which, as M. Havet himself allows, the very soul of Jesus seems to fade away), there still remains the strange and beautiful personality whose influence has been felt so far and deep. Jesus lived; He lived a life so powerful that it carried away "the multitude," those poor "lost sheep" that He loved so well, who followed Him in life and crowned Him in death, with the thorny crown of Messiahship. Could such a life have left no traces; could no true impression of it remain upon the writings consecrated to its record? Surely something of Him must lurk in the narratives; but how to seize it, and to say with Pilate, "Behold the Man," this is the task to which our author next addresses himself.

In the first place, says M. Havet, Jesus has inspiration, and this is the dominant feature of his spiritual physiognomy. This is clearly shown by His keen vision and His tones of authority and of command. He is obeyed and followed as one having some uncommon power and exercising some unusual influence. His very opponents admit this force, in attributing it to the help of Beelzebub. Faith, not knowledge, is the principle of his doctrine. Nothing is so evil in His eyes as to ignore inspiration when you meet it; all sins will be forgiven, but blasphemy against the holy spirit; He who causes the humble to make a false step will have reason for regretting that he was ever born: the relations of life so sacred for others are nothing to Him; those who hear His words, they are His mother and His brethren. Such, in other measures, was the spirit of Socrates, of Joan of Arc, of Blaise Pascal: a spirit of power in days of faith, but in an age of criticism like the present, apt to be misunderstood. Even in His own country the Prophet complained of not being honoured; and we are told that His own family sought to lay hands upon Him as if they thought Him insane (Mark III. 21.) But inspiration is not madness; and the power of Jesus endures from age to age.

In virtue of this inspiration the Great Teacher shrank from no disregard of conventionality. He did not think Himself bound by fasts or by rules for ablution; without disrespect for the Sabbath He claimed liberty regarding it; He used the same liberty in the choice of His company, so as to incur the reproaches of the stricter members of society (II, 17.) But He did this not as

approving sin, but only as covering sinners with the mantle of His great charity. The orthodox Jews asked Him for His authority, and demanded miraculous testimonials; but He rested his credentials on His general work, and said that no sign should be given them.

M. Havet goes on to cite expressions which show that this earnest character sometimes revealed itself in bitter and even harsh language: as when, thinking that Simon had shown too much worldliness, He rebuked him under the name of "Satan" (VII. 33.) Associating such traits as these with others more in conformity with Isaiah XLII. 2, M. Havet sees in the character of Jesus a Jewish ideal which excludes imperiousness and violence, but does not exclude a somewhat severe austerity. Even in those sweet passages of tenderness when the weak and infantile attract His love, the smile is shaded with a frown: when His disciples tried to keep away the children, he was "much displeased" (X. 14.)

M. Havet is of opinion that one of the most potent means by which Jesus swayed the crowd was an impulse towards a future which was full of menace for the privileged classes; and that this was in fact the ultimate cause of His apparent ruin. When He announced that the Kingdom of Heaven was at hand, He implied that the Kingdom of the Romans and of Herod was about to end. The first were then to be last, and the last first; whosoever would save his life should lose it; those who did not mortify themselves would be cast into everlasting pain. In all these sayings M. Havet finds traces of a disturbing dispensation for His contemporaries. So also in the preference of the poor, and in the denunciations of the rich—in which He is followed by His brother S. James, see especially James V. 1, *et. seq.* It is hard for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God; and Dives suffers eternal torment, apparently for the sole reason that he had been prosperous in this life. For Himself, as for His immediate followers, there was to be no property, no thought for worldly needs. After His death His society had all things in common.

The next peculiarity noted is the tendency to teach in parables; a tendency exhibited also by the Indian reformer Sakya Muni, and by Jewish Doctors in the Talmud and elsewhere. The mingled prudence and courage of His answers to embarrassing questions next receives notice; and we are bid to remark a certain suppleness of mind that—as afterwards to a minor degree with Joan of Arc—agreed so wonderfully with the exalted moods of inspiration.

Such, according to M. Havet, is a faint representation of the portrait of Jesus as painted by the oldest of the Evangelists. The remainder of his study is devoted to an attempt to sup-

plement its traces from the other Gospels. But, as he has begun by entirely discrediting the evidential and historical value of these documents, we may be excused for not detaining the reader with such details, which must be somewhat arbitrary, and are, in fact, of quite inferior interest.

To sum up : M. Havet concludes that Jesus is not to be regarded as a Christian, or even as the founder of Christianity ; but rather as a sort of Ebionite Rabbi who, expecting the approaching end of the world and the restoration of the tribes of Israel and Judah, desired to prepare His hearers for those events. The Gentiles He called "dogs ;" He took no interest in the Samaritans ; He sought the salvation of none but "the lost sheep of the house of Israel ;" He did not contemplate the boundless mission of Paul. What He has imparted to Christianity, however, is of real value ; a spirit of pity, almost of pessimism, an acceptance of sorrow in this life to be redressed abundantly in a world to come ; a tenderness for the meek and lowly, partly the result of the misery of the time, but in a great measure the impress of His own lofty, yet loving, soul. He is purely a Jew, and there is no genuine word or deed of His that is not Jewish. But He is a Jew of Galilee rather than of Jerusalem, following inspiration rather than authority, formed by Nature rather than by the schools, born to compromise His country and Himself, but also to disturb and regenerate a wicked world.

If we seek further to know what has been His exact share in the production of modern society, we must have recourse to some other guides who have gone further than M. Havet has yet gone. Among these is Professor Burnouf of Athens ; who contributed a dozen years ago a series of remarkable articles to the *Revue des deux Mondes* which have been since reproduced as a book under the title of *Science de la Religion*.

Professor Burnouf, with much learning and ingenuity, is not always a safe instructor. For instance, he clings to the theory, now generally abandoned, that S. Matthew's is the oldest of the Gospel narratives. He is also wrong—at least if M. Havet be right—in thinking that Jesus had an esoteric doctrine which was hostile to Judaism, for preaching which he was persecuted and sentenced to death by the Jews. But he is right in holding that Christianity was founded by S. Paul, and that it had to include a non-Jewish and wholly foreign element before it could assume the character of a universal creed.

Jesus and his immediate school were (according to M. Havet) Nazarene Ebionites ; forming a Jewish sect which would perhaps have been absorbed if left to itself. The first "Christians," in the true sense of the word, were Hellenic and even Gentiles, the Church of Antioch and of Asia Minor rather than of

Palestine. The progress of the new school is seen in the Pauline Epistles (including that to the Hebrews, though this is not by Paul) and in the Gospel according to S. John. The element of Docetism, towards which there was some leaning, being eliminated, that of the divinity of Jesus remained as a distinctive feature of this school. In all things it presents a complete contrast to the teaching of the Church of Jerusalem as seen in the Epistle of S. James. This, which is probably the earliest book of the New Testament, is full of moral precepts and of the peculiar views of Jesus, but it makes no reference to His Messiahship, or to any controversy with the Jews : —

Professor Burnouf says much that is of peculiar interest for Indian readers. In the foreign element introduced by the school of Paul he recognises an influence of Vedism and of Buddhism, derived from India through Babylon and Alexandria. Much of his speculation is fanciful ; but the following points may be accepted as suggestive and important, if not absolutely new or true.

1. That the doctrine of the immortality of the human soul was no part of the original Jewish scheme of belief. Whatever remote references to such a doctrine may be thought to be traceable in scattered passages of the Old Testament, it is certain that it was not so clearly taught as to be recognised as a cardinal truth by the most educated and influential of the nation, *viz.* the Sadducees. It is probable that, as a point of popular belief, it came into Palestine with the return from the captivity. The resurrection of martyrs is taught for the first time, as a distinct tenet, in the books of the Maccabees.

2.—That the modern Christian doctrine of the Trinity is not clearly laid down in the New Testament ; and that it may have been partially suggested by later intercourse with India, of which we have hints in the story of the monk Barlaam. In purely Jewish writings, even of the Alexandrian school, there is no allusion to a Trinity. By careful examination of such books as *Ecclesiasticus*, the *Wisdom of Solomon*, the *Book of Enoch*, and the writings of Philo, we learn that before the birth of Christianity, there had been in the Jewish mind the idea of a mediator between God and man. But this idea contemplated at the utmost two *hypostases* or presentations of deity. The author of the Gospel according to S. John develops it by saying that the Word was made flesh and dwelt among (or in) us ; and apparently meant to say that this took place in the person of Jesus. But this was not the teaching of Jesus himself, or even of His immediate followers ; it was the teaching of an anonymous polemic in the middle of the second century. The idea of a Trinity, moreover, does not follow from that of the incarnate Word ; it is rather the

idea of a universal, perhaps of an immanent, Power with three faces or manifestations.

Why three? The follower of the Roman, or of the Greek Church may say that this was the latent doctrine developed by the Fathers from Scripture and Tradition under the direct prompting of inspiration. But the historical inquirer finds that the number three was chosen long before. In Puranic Hinduism we find a view of Deity quite opposed to that prevalent among Semitic races, to the conception of a transcendent monarch, such as the Jehovah of the Jews, or the Allah of the Arabs. With the Hindus the Deity is a power (of the neuter gender) immanent in Nature, but revealed to man in three forms or "persons." Going higher up the stream of Aryan thought, we find the pantheistic reform of Sakya Muni, erroneously represented as Atheism. The scheme which Buddhism attempted to reform was no less Trinitarian than that by which Buddhism was followed. In the Vedic hymns—some of which are perhaps of older origin than the invasion of India and the dispersion of the Aryan races—there are still three personifications of the Deity. These are:—first, the sun, the centre and source of terrestrial life; second Agni, the sacrificial fire; and third, the Vayu or firmamental air, by whose instrumentality Agni lives and returns to his Heavenly Father, bearing the offerings of man.

It is here that, according to Burnouf, we have to seek the explanation of the doctrine of the three persons of the one God. If this be true, Pantheism rather than pure Monotheism, will be the true Aryan doctrine, and Christianity will be on a false path as long as it continues to cling to the Semitic view of the Deity as a magnified monarch whose throne is heaven, and earth His footstool. And—what is of most interest for Indian readers—the Aryan conception is not only the most philosophical and best suited to the universal wants of progressive humanity, but it is the most specially suited to the special nature and necessities of men of the Aryan race, the peculiarly progressive branch of mankind.

To Strauss's question, "Are we Christians?" no certain reply can be given. So far as "Christian" may mean direct followers of Jesus, it is evident that modern criticism, as represented by the Havet school, must render a positive denial. We—French, English, and other Aryans of Europe and America—are in fact the descendants of the Roman and Barbarian Gentiles who adopted the doctrine of a Hellenic Pharisee (Saul of Tarsus) including such of the traditions of Jesus as Saul, after long controversy with the Church of Jerusalem, had seen fit to retain. Re-stated in these terms the system may be expected to spread among all Aryan populations, even if we despair of the general acceptance

by the people of India of this or that denomination of existing Christianity. Forms of this have long been presented to them without much success; at a time when its own followers are openly criticising it there must be less hope than ever. On the other hand—if what may be called “Ebionism” be too Semitic for Indian minds—the grand ideas, of self-sacrifice in the interests of mankind and of self-purification in harmony with an orderly Universe, remain. The best minds in the European series, from S. Paul, down through Augustine and Luther, and even to our own day, have always found these things in what they have regarded as Christianity; and have recognised in their religion a discipline of character rather than a code of conduct. We do not turn our cheek to the smiter, or pay tribute to Cæsar; but we adopt what has been the vivifying principle of the religion of our predecessors in all times and places that have been favourable to social progress. And these are now being, for the first time, consciously and intelligently offered to the Indian communities alike by the various Missionary bodies and by the Universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. Those who feel that they cannot go the whole length of modern criticism will perhaps still acknowledge that purity and beneficence are the heart and kernel of the teaching of Jesus, and are things that may be fairly expected to recommend themselves to good men everywhere. So may some day be fulfilled that victory of altruism over egotism which was foreshadowed by the traditions of the Nativity preserved by some of the Evangelists. Not vainly was it held that supernatural visitants had been with the shepherds on the Hills of Palestine and had heralded the approach of “Peace upon earth among men of holy intent.”*

Even, therefore, if we think that M. Havet is too sceptical, we may still allow that he has done good work. He has shown that the advent of Jesus is the great fact and feat of time; an epoch in the progress of Humanity, even when men reject the Semitic notion of God as a magnified Sultan. The moral effect, the ethical emotion, kindled and kept alive by the precepts and the example of the most unselfish of teachers, form a distinct and permanent acquisition. The more man maintains his claim to all that distinguishes him from the lower animals, the more must he acknowledge his dependence upon Him whose influence was inspiration and His special title, “The Son of Man.”

H. G. KEENE.

* The *Revised Version* says, in the margin, “of good pleasure” which is not very intelligible, even when paraphrased, as in the text, “in whom God is pleased.”

ART. II.—THE LIFE OF COLIN CAMPBELL, LORD CLYDE:
Illustrated by Extracts from his Diary and Correspondence. By Lieutenant-General Shadwell, C.B. 2 vols. William Blackwood & Sons, 1881.

CONSIDERING the liberties which writers of fiction, particularly of the older school, have taken with the military character, the lives of eminent soldiers can hardly be too freely illustrated through the medium of sober and truthful biography. Modern systems have put an end to the old joke about the fool of the family being sent into the army; though if this ever was the way of it, the so-called fool must often have turned out to be nothing of the kind. The great Duke's remark about Waterloo having been won on the playing fields at Eton was full of meaning. But this was partly because the training a lad gets, or used to get, in a good regiment was neither more nor less than the complement of his Harrow, Rugby, or Charter-house career. Indeed, some regiments have been so famous in this way, that boys from the most Bæotian parts of England or Scotland, educated by their sisters' governess, and "polished" by the village dominie, unless downright radicals, have only had to carry their Colours for a year or two, in order to catch insensibly the tone and *morale* of as high-minded a form of society as civilization has ever produced. The days of chivalry are said to be over. But this is only so far true; and the professional soldiers who about once in every decade land at Portsmouth, to receive the meed of foreign service, though belonging to an order which came in only with standing armies and the revolution, yet fairly represent in most essential qualities those gallant gentlemen whose deeds are told by Froissart. The 'helmet barred' has been exchanged for softer head coverings; the 'Queen of beauty' for an affectionate wife waiting on the pier till the transport is signalled; and *demi-voltes*, and so forth (luckily for the crowd), for speeches at the mansion-house and papers in

magazines. But with all this, DUTY has merely taken the place of *devoir* ; and there is still the same devotion of life and self to a common cause ; the same simplicity of thought, speech and action ; and the same subordination of the individual will in matters affecting the general interests. Not that all of England's great commanders, even of this nineteenth century, have given out just the same sound ring, when tested from this point of view. There must be exceptions to every rule ; and allowance has to be made for differences of natural character and temper. Some may even not see much in common between, let it be said, Wellington and Charles Napier, or Havelock and Outram. But in these and other similar instances that could be cited, a deeper survey will, it is believed, bring out, not only that the features of family resemblance were strong, but that they have often depended for their development on the common pursuit of objects as high as those of the best days of chivalry. Any one who doubts this should read the life of Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde, just given to the world by his comrade General Shadwell ; after a delay of seventeen years' due, as we are told in the preface, to the reluctance expressed by the subject of it towards the end of his career that any thing should be published about him. When it came to the battles on which his prowess as a leader depended, Eton may have done as much for Lord Clyde as for England's greatest soldier. We do not doubt it. But as for the fighting of life's battle by the man himself, English public schools had nothing to do with that. The father of the future Field-marshal, though a gentleman by birth, followed the humble calling of a carpenter ; and on 20th October 1792, his son Colin—the family name was Macliver—was born an obscure Glasgow boy. Instances of a similar kind, in which good material has made its first appearance in squalid conditions, were common then in Scotland ; partly from the readiness with which younger sons, and cadets of good houses, not relishing the rôle of 'Jock the laird's brother,' entered, like sensible men, into trade ; and partly from so many of the best families having staked and lost their lands, and everything but honour, on the perverse fortunes of the Stuarts. Hugh Miller, in one of his books, mentions a "really handsome man, "grey-haired, silvery-whiskered, with an aristocratic cast of "countenance," by name John Lindsay, who was once his fellow-workman, and between whom and the Crawford peerage there was but the 'missing link' of a lost marriage certificate. The lot of a mason's labourer had therefore to content his lordship ; and, his story being no secret, the call, says Miller, was

to be heard resounding from the walls twenty times a day
“*John, Yearl Crafurd, bring us anither hod o’ lime!*”

The Macliver case was neither so distressing nor so peculiar ; the paternal grandfather of the future peninsular hero and pacifier of India having forfeited an estate in Argyleshire, and been fain to burrow in the Gorbals of Glasgow, after Culloden. On the maternal side also, the little Macliver came of ‘kenned folk’. His mother, Agnes Campbell, belonged to a family of standing in Islay. And when, long years afterwards, it fell to the lot of General Sir Patrick Grant to write and congratulate Sir Colin on his elevation to the peerage, the fine veteran, who, we are glad to think, still wears his uniform,

“and shows how fields were won,”

was able, with national pride, “to thank God that you are not “only a Scotchman but a Highlander ; and that I am through my “mother, of the old Duntroon family, half your clansman.” All this will be edifying to students of ‘heredity.’ If the boy had been by race what Rob Roy was pleased to call a ‘mere mechanical person,’ and if the maternal uncle, a certain Colonel John Campbell, who obtained for him, at fifteen and a half, his commission, had been a prosperous weaver, instead of, as may be presumed, only a half-pay officer, little Colin might have grown into a Glasgow magistrate. But the world would have lost this record of a life of frugality, self-denial, and exertion, the lesson of which could never have been better timed than in this age of luxury ; when the nation seems almost to be losing its manhood, in the general plethora of system induced by excessive pleasure-seeking and money-grubbing. Honours and even riches came to the young soldier, it is true, in time. The former but stamped, not made, the man ; being unsought, and causing, it is evident, a good deal of embarrassment to him. The money, again, he valued partly, as he always said, for the ‘glorious privilege of being independent,’ but chiefly because it enabled him to provide for his father and sister. The youth had nothing but his sword and the blessing of God to depend on. Like St. Paul and others of the true heroic type, he had a hatred of debt ; and although not always able to escape it, pinched himself rather than submit to it. A struggle as his life thus often was, his care for others never abated. At every stage in his career, the more or less dependent, father and sister filled his thoughts ; and the dutiful manner in which out of his scanty means he ministered to them shows what a leal heart here beat under a buttoned-up, and latterly rather grim, exterior. In this we are anticipating. But

it is not amiss that the reader should perceive at once the kind of kernel residing in the centre of all the hard military qualities with which his biographer has chiefly had to deal.

It was his mother's brother, John, as has been seen, who carried young Macliver to the Horse Guards, and obtained a commission for him ; after the lad had ' buckled in,' principally at the High School of Glasgow, such education as Scotch pedagogues of the old stamp could impart. When the uncle was presenting the young candidate for a red coat to H. R. H. the Duke of York, this was what took place :

" The Duke, supposing the boy, as he remarked, to be ' another of the clan,' entered him, as Colin Campbell, and from that day he assumed his mother's name. This is the explanation of a change which has puzzled many ; and has given rise to various surmises. Upon leaving the Duke's presence with his uncle, it is said, that he made some remark upon the subject ; which was met by telling him that Campbell was a name which it would suit him, or professional reasons, to adopt."

We would gladly have heard more about this uncle John. Our army of those days was, with all its virtues, full of social prejudices. " Macliver, I don't recollect ever hearing the name before," was a remark which, with the ear of imagination, the canny Scot probably heard made from time to time in connexion with his kinsman by old gentlemen at the Horse Guards, and old ladies elsewhere, on whom his professional or other prospects might come to depend. The name of a man's mother is, after all, as much a part of him as his father's is. And since accident so determined it, there was no harm in Colin Macliver, on becoming an ensign in the 9th regiment—in which five weeks later he was promoted to a lieutenancy—adopting the patronymic of the great western clan. The times were stirring ones, and there was no wonder the wide-awake uncle thought his nephew had been conjugating verbs long enough. It was the middle of 1808. The exploits of Buonoparte had long been stirring the martial ardour of England to its depths, and exciting in the army a vehement desire to cope with him. Just then, the revolt of Spain and Portugal seemed to afford to England the opportunity foretold by Pitt after Austerlitz ; and a force had been sent to the Peninsula, commanded by Sir Arthur Wellesley, to check the troubler of Europe. By the time young Campbell landed with his regiment, operations had begun ; and the boy was under fire the very next day, at Vimiero : one of his experiences during which battle so well shews the relations then subsisting between captains of companies and their subalterns, that we are tempted to extract it :—

" It was at the commencement of this battle that a circumstance occurred to the young subaltern to which, in after-years, he was wont to

refer with the deepest feelings of gratitude. Colin Campbell was with the rear company of his battalion, which was halted in open column of companies. His captain, an officer of years and experience, called him to his side, took him by the hand, and leading him by the flank of the battalion, to its front, walked with him up and down the front of the leading company for several minutes, in full view of the enemy's artillery, which had begun to open fire on our troops, whilst covering his attack. He then let go the boy's hand—Colin was not yet sixteen—and told him to join his company. The object was to give the youngster confidence, and it succeeded. In after-years, though very reticent of his own services,—for Lord Clyde was essentially a modest man—he related the anecdote to the writer of this memoir, adding—"It was the greatest kindness that could have been shown me at such a time; and through life, I have felt grateful for it."

Sir John Moore's retreat on Coruna, pursued by the three armies of Napoleon, Soult and Bey, formed Campbell's next taste of war. His personal experiences during this "terrible operation, conducted in midwinter," are thus presented to us:—

"To give some idea of the discomforts of the retreat, Lord Clyde used to relate how that, for sometime before reaching Coruna, he had to march with bare feet, the soles of his boots being completely worn away. He had no means of replacing them; and, when he got on boardship, he was unable to remove them, as from constant wear, and his inability to take them off, the leather had adhered so closely to the flesh of the legs, that he was obliged to steep them in water as hot as he could bear, and have the leather cut away in strips, a painful operation, as in the process, pieces of the skin were brought away with it."

Fifty years afterwards, when the stripling had grown into the veteran, and set himself, in India, among other tasks, to the recovery of Oudh, we wonder whether he recalled to mind the above hardships, on taking under his command, at Lucknow, the division of the chivalrous Outram, and learning, if he ever learned it, that every man in Outram's force had been supplied a few months previously—the annual rainy season then being at its height—with a pair of new boots or shoes at Outram's expense. 'No foot, no horse' is a maxim as old as honest Gervaise Markham's 'Masterpiece of Farriery;' and the best military leaders have been the most careful to remember that the same thing holds true of soldiers. The disastrous victory of Coruna, in which, as will be remembered, Moore met a soldier's death, having served merely to cover his army's embarkation, Campbell soon found himself back in Canterbury; only to start afresh after a short rest, this time with the abortive Walcheren expedition; from which he brought back the seeds of malarious fever sown in his constitution among the marshy islands of the Scheldt.

These stuck to him for life, and caused him no little trouble. Ordered next to Gibraltar, the young subaltern had the good fortune shortly afterwards to find his first opportunity of showing what was in him, when during the battle of Barrosa the command of certain companies of his regiment devolved on him through all the other officers being wounded. After a spell of varied service with local armies, also for a wonder a whole year of quiet at Gibraltar, Campbell again became, in 1813, a soldier of Wellington's army, then at the crisis of its enterprise. At this stage his biographer begins to draw with the best effect on a journal kept by Campbell during some of the most important periods of his career. The style of this record we commend to all young officers. Free alike from exaggeration, discussion, and all trace of literary effort or imitation, it states, sentence after sentence, in the language of practical soldiership, just such facts as it forms the province of the professional eye-witness to commit at the time to paper. After fighting in the battle of Vittoria, in which the French army lost 143 pieces of cannon and nearly all its baggage, the next exploit in which Campbell was engaged was the siege of San Sebastian. In the attack on the convent and redoubt of San Bartolomeo with which this operation began, and in which the 9th regiment suffered heavily, Lieut. Campbell's "most conspicuous gallantry in leading on his men to overcome the variety of obstacles that were opposed to them," was brought to Wellington's notice by Sir T. Graham, in his despatch, in the words which we have placed in inverted commas. When the great fortress was afterwards stormed, the young soldier's part was even more distinguished. He led the forlorn hope. A 'forlorn hope' it was, too; for the assault failed, and its leader received two severe wounds, while covering himself with fresh glory. This was in July. A month later, as readers of Napier will remember, a second and successful attack was made; but, Campbell being then in hospital, no mention of that occurs in his journal. Soon afterwards, his division marched, and he was left behind. This was too trying for him. Hearing of the likelihood of further fighting, he and another wounded officer, without a word to the doctors, made their way to the front, "by dint of crawling and an occasional lift from commissariat and other vehicles proceeding along the road," and were in action the following day; Campbell commanding the light and leading company, and receiving another wound, the effects of which he felt all his life. This brought his service in the peninsula to a close. On 9th November following, he was promoted without purchase to a company in

the 60th regiment, and returned about Christmas to England, carrying with him, besides his wounds, the reputation of "a most gallant and meritorious young officer." A happy day for the uncle when he received under his roof the youth who had done so well. A temporary wound pension of £100 a year was easily obtained; but his applications for further employment, though supported by some of the best names in the army, were not so immediately responded to. So much twaddle has been uttered at different times about officers of merit being "blighted," "by the cold shade of the aristocracy," and so forth, that General Shadwell has done well in showing how from the first Campbell was appreciated. Abuse of patronage may have disgraced the administration of the army, as of other departments. But there is much to be said on the opposite side also; and we would like to know where England might have been now, had not, for example, Arthur Wellesley's family connexions made him lieutenant-colonel at twenty-four, and colonel at twenty-six; thus giving him a lifetime, instead of only the remains of one, in which to serve his country in situations of importance. Against jobbery and injustice none more apt to protest than we are; but who will not concur in the view of Sir C. Napier, as quoted in General Shadwell's book, that "*it is useless for a man to have good soldiers under his orders, if he does not push to make them known.*" And really, when we see a minister, or a commander-in-chief, thinking only of himself, and hesitating to bring forward his friends in whom he has confidence, in preference to those of other people, for fear of what may be said about him, we are inclined to think but poorly of him. That all who knew Colin Campbell, and had the power to favour his advancement, left no stone unturned to do so, his biographer, as just stated, has fully shown; and if their exertions were not always successful that was merely due to the broad surface over which official favour has to be distributed.

Campbell had hardly joined the 60th in Nova Scotia, when the state of his health compelled him to return to England and afterwards visit the south of France, to try certain warm springs. Early in 1819, he joined the 21st Fusiliers, in the Barbadoes; where the next seven years were put in, greatly to his contentment, especially after he had been made aide-de-camp and brigade major to the governor and commander of the forces in Demarara. While in this situation, he contrived to purchase his majority in his regiment, in November 1825. How this was arranged is thus told: and the passage shows that the same moral courage which is required to keep a man out

of debt will also enable him to face, for a worthy object, a temporary obligation—

“To make up the sum which it was necessary for him to contribute towards the furtherance of this object, Colin Campbell was indebted to the spontaneous liberality of a friend in the colony; who assisted him with a loan of £600, in addition to which he borrowed a sum of £200 from his agents. Being without means, and having taken upon himself, since he had attained the rank of captain, the obligation of assisting his father with an annual payment of between £30 and £40, the incurring of such a heavy liability, to be still further increased by the expense of a field officer's outfit, may appear, at first sight, a rash proceeding, and not warranted by his circumstances. On the other hand, the promotion was of the greatest professional importance to him, and may be regarded as the turning-point of his career. There remained the alternative of seeing younger men, more favoured by fortune, pass over his head, or of throwing up the service, in disgust with the blankness of his prospects, to seek, as so many others similarly situated have done, an opening in some different line of life. Happily, Colin Campbell, actuated by an ardent love of his profession, and it may be prompted by the consciousness that he had that in him which he could turn to good account, should the opportunity offer, elected to brave the apparent imprudence of the step he was about to take; feeling quite at ease, so far as his kind benefactor was concerned, as to the liquidation of the loan which had been so considerably imposed upon him.”

The name of the ‘benefactor’, who thus stepped forward, is not given. Happily, there is a great deal of this kind of thing always going on in the world; which, abuse it as we will, has an odd way of its own, if we will only let it, and not hamper it by too many rules and regulations, of helping the fittest to come to the front. In another passage it is mentioned that “pleasant society, prior to the abolition of slavery, was to be met with in our West Indian colonies” Dandie Dinmont's offer to Brown to ‘buy him up a step’ may form, for aught we know, a parallel case. And without harking back at this date to the negro-emanicipation question, we may be permitted to say that if, in the palmy days of sugar plantations, every proprietor of a ‘thriving concern’ was subject to impulses of this kind, on seeing a soldier like Colin Campbell held down for want of a few hundreds, it was so much the better for Her Majesty's service. The purchase-system, after all, was a mixture of good and evil, and it is not yet fully proved that, in getting rid of its disadvantages by abolishing it, we have found a substitute for it which will secure to us its advantages. This promotion necessitating relinquishment of his staff appointment, Campbell returned to England; where, after a spell of regimental service, enlivened by much pleasant social intercourse, he was enabled, “through the kindness of a relation on the mother's side,” to lodge the sum necessary (£1,300) for the purchase of an unattached lieutenant-

coloneley. This put him on the half-pay list ; after " nearly twenty-five years on full-pay, *viz.*, upwards of five years as a subaltern, " nearly thirteen as captain, and seven as major." The next three years he spent partly in study ; partly in visits to places, such as Antwerp, where interesting military operations were going on ; and partly in striving to obtain employment. In the latter pursuit he received from the heads of his profession, from Lord Hill downward, such marks of their desire to serve him as kept him always hopeful ; but it was not till 1835 that he was able to write in his journal that he had been gazetted to the lieutenant-coloneley " of the gallant and good old 9th " regiment," in which he had been brought up. This piece of luck, as the very next entry records, he signalled by buying " several good books, such as Napier and Jones, for his barrack-room." In the end, the 98th, not the 9th, regiment was the one given to him ; but although this was a disappointment, yet it mattered little, so long as the summit of his ambition—a regimental command—was reached. The period now arrived at in Campbell's life is one of the most important and instructive in it all. To do justice to the way in which, as lieutenant-colonel of the 98th regiment, he put in practice the principles in which he had been trained in the 9th, and which, as is pointed out, formed part of the legacy of Sir John Moore to the army, would not be possible within the limits of an article. And yet the subject is so important, that whatever extracts may have to stand over the following must be given :—

" There was no secret in his (Moore's) method. The officers were instructed, and shared their duties with the soldiers ; and by the development of the company system under which the captains and subalterns were brought into intimate relations with the non-commissioned officers and privates, a knowledge of each other was obtained, and a feeling of confidence engendered between the several ranks which, far from producing familiarity, had the effect of creating an interest on the part of the officer in the soldier, and of calling forth a responsive and willing obedience from the latter who soon learned to look upon his officer as the protector of his interests, and his best friend. Crime was neither concealed nor magnified, every indulgence was extended to the steady and well-conducted soldier ; the youngster who might have heedlessly given way to temptation being gently chided and earnestly warned of the consequences of a persistence in irregular habits, whilst the habitual offender was duly visited with the just penalty of his misdeeds."

Here again is his biographer's description of how the above principles were applied by Campbell :—

" Stern in rebuke—for, with the temperament natural to his Highland blood, he was prone to anger when occasion stirred it—he was on the other hand, gentle, nay indulgent, towards all such as manifested anxiety in the performance of their duties. Nor did he make any difference between ranks. Setting himself an example of punctuality and strictness with

regard to his own duties, he exacted from his officers a like discharge of theirs in all that concerned the instruction, well-being, and conduct of the subordinate ranks. Though no doubt there were occasions on which, from an excess of zeal, he was apt somewhat to overstrain the machinery of which he was the moving principle, yet he succeeded in establishing and maintaining such feeling and *esprit de corps* in all ranks, as made both officers and soldiers happy and proud of serving under his command. * * *

Frugal in his habits by nature and the force of circumstances, he laid great stress on the observance of economy in the officers' mess; believing that a well-ordered establishment of this kind is the best index of a good regiment. For this reason he determined not to sanction the use of any wine but port and sherry; the introduction of other wines, he viewed as extravagance, and he set himself against any expenditure which he considered incommensurate with the means of his officers. Regarding the mess as one of the principal levers of discipline, Colin Campbell made a rule of attending it, even when the frequent return of his fever and ague rendered late dinners a physical discomfort to him. Cramped in his means, he denied himself many little comforts, in order that he might have the where withal to return hospitality, and be able to set an example to his brother officers in the punctual discharge of his mess liabilities. His intercourse with his officers off duty was unrestrained, and of the most friendly character. He sympathised with them in their occupations and sports; and though the instruction and discipline of the regiment were carried on with great strictness, the best feeling pervaded all ranks, so that everything was done in good humour."

In the passage last quoted, one of Campbell's weak points is adverted to. Natural habit, and the effects of wounds and climate on his nervous system, rendered him irritable and over-anxious. He belonged to the *ore rotundo* period of our army; and it was said of him in the Barbadoes, though this is not mentioned by his biographer, that when the fit was on him, and he fairly warmed to it, the temperature of his tent would go up a degree or two all round him. Now we are no advocates for perpetual smoothfacedness. Soldiers have no occasion to pose like Talleyrands or Jesuits, and look at a man affectionately all the time they are longing to knock him down. On the contrary, all our readers, both civil and military, are hereby advised to blow off the steam directly, when necessary, instead of bleeding internally, or making themselves disagreeable to their families for days together, owing to suppressed rage. But that is different from being irritable, and prone to anger. A soldier or other person who is constantly flying into a passion is as bad as a gun that is always letting itself off; and we therefore hope and believe that the younger officers of Her Majesty's army will, while acquiring as many as possible of the virtues of their seniors, cultivate a certain laudable degree of command over their tempers.

About a couple of years after becoming lieutenant-colonel of the 98th, Colin Campbell passed under the command of Sir Charles Napier. In externals, the two were about as dissimilar as

a solemn old Scotch terrier of the fighting sort and a macaw. In essentials, they were "*par nobile fratrum*;" and confidence soon sprang up between them. Those were the days of Chartist excitement, notably round Nottingham, the headquarters of Napier's command. Campbell's regiment lay at Newcastle-on-Tyne. Naturally, the magistrates and owners of collieries were disposed to hold on tight to the soldiers, and 'call out the military' if so much as a little street-boy was seen standing on his head. Campbell's cue again was precisely the opposite, namely, by all means to stave off collisions between Her Majesty's troops and their misguided fellow-subjects. In this policy he was warmly supported by Napier; who, at no time famed for admiration of the 'civil power,' except when it chanced to be represented by himself, as in Sindh, fumed at being what he called 'dry nurse to special constables!' In the end all turned out well. Campbell's forecasts generally proved as sound as the steps taken by him for the maintenance of order were successful. No serious *emeute* ever occurred at or near his head-quarters. The Home Office thanked him for his 'valuable services;' and the Newcastle authorities, the days of panic over, sent him complimentary resolutions in acknowledgment of the support they had received from him. The gallant 98th was not left to itself all this time. Though more or less 'chopped up, as Napier expressed it, into detachments, its perfect state of discipline and handiness in the field brought enthusiasts in drill from far and near to admire it; and the outing the battalion had, and all that it went through, on a certain occasion of Napier's coming down to present a new pair of colours to it, must have been remembered by both officers and men for some considerable time afterwards.

With 1842 there came both for the 98th and its lieutenant-colonel a decided turn of the wheel, namely, from Dublin to Hong-Kong, where they received orders to join Sir Hugh Gough's force in the north of China. Heat, cholera, fever, dysentery,

"All the infections that the sun sucks up
From bogs, fens, flats,"

smote the unfortunate regiment on the way up the Yang-tsi-Kiang. Campbell himself was struck down by the sun; and fifty-three soldiers died before the expedition had lasted a month. Luckily the Chinese soon gave in; and before anything decisive was done peace was made. So far as the health of the regiment was concerned, its return to Hong-Kong only made matters worse. In writing to his sister, in December, its lieutenant-colonel had to record, with what feelings may be imagined, that he had lost

by death 283 of his soldiers, and that, out of 231 then on the sick report, some 50 or 60 would die. Such too often is war, particularly when European armies are employed in Asiatic countries; and the figures just quoted deserve to be attentively considered by all who think that the army is strong enough at the present day for our requirements. While at Hong-Kong, Colin Campbell heard of his nomination to be a Companion of the Bath, and an aide-de-camp to the Queen. In 1844, he was appointed to command the garrison of Chusan; and, finding, on his arrival there, a comparatively favourable climate, contrived to have his regiment sent to be under his own eye. Improvement in its condition followed; and, busy with his soldiers, the brigadier, who was intrusted also with the civil administration of Chusan—an island about the size of the Isle of Wight—was content, says his biographer, ‘to leave the inhabitants as much as possible to themselves.’ Happy inhabitants! Protected without being ‘improved,’ ruled without having new taxes imposed on them, no wonder, when Chusan was restored to the Chinese, and Campbell and his regiment were sent to Calcutta, in 1846, they presented him with an address expressive of their gratitude.

On 24th October 1846, just four days after crossing the threshold of his fifty-fifth year, Colin Campbell looked for the first time on that wonder of the world, the source at once of so much strength and weakness to England, our Indian empire. All that he thought it necessary to note in his journal on the occasion would appear to be contained in the following entry, made, in Spanish, during his passage up the Bay of Bengal:—

“I thank God most sincerely and devoutly for the favour He has been pleased to extend to me; and for enabling me to render assistance to those who had a right to expect it from me when I had the means of affording them aid.”

Events had been marching with rare rapidity about that time in India. Sir Charles Napier, released from his task of taking care of the Nottingham stocking-weavers, had seized, after his own masterful methods, and was then engaged in governing Sindh. The first Sikh war had terminated at Sobraon, after the *Khalsa* army had been defeated in four battles, fought within the space of sixty days. But the treaty afterwards concluded with the humiliated and disorganised government of Lahore was by many regarded more as an experiment made with the object of staving off the necessity for annexation than as a sound and stable settlement of affairs. No wonder, then, a Governor-General like Lord Hardinge welcomed Campbell cordially, and wrote to him, through his military secretary, “a very flattering letter,” holding out hopes of his being appointed to command a

brigade on the Punjab border. "Objection," it is stated, was afterwards made to this, chiefly, owing to "his want of knowledge of the language." In Colin Campbell's case, such an argument was absurd; and can only have been used by some very antiquated and obstructive adviser. At the same time, Bacon's maxim "*He that travaileth into a country before he hath some entrance into the language, goeth to school, and not to travaile*" is doubly applicable to those having not merely to travel, but conduct military operations, in the country concerned. In the peninsula Campbell had acquired French and Spanish. Had he served before in India, he would no doubt have qualified himself for the interpretership of his regiment. And if every young soldier will make up his mind to do the same when he goes to India, Her Majesty's service, to say nothing of himself, will be very much the better for it. The examiners' text-books may not be as entertaining reading as Whyte Melville's novels or "Baily's Magazine." But they are better than eternal ennui, or unvarying rounds of shooting, polo, and billiards; though, by the way, nothing equals *shikar* for turning men into practical linguists, and teaching them to find their way about, and work an intelligence department successfully, when in command of field forces or detachments. Even the books gradually become less and less tedious; for, however vapid Indian vernacular literature may be, acquaintance with it increases that degree of sympathy with the people which is often all that is wanted to make life in India, as in other countries, not only tolerable but enjoyable. A year's foreign service, when nothing particular is on foot, may easily be frittered away without a mark being left on a man's career, or even in his mind, in connection with it; and the acquisition during it of a language would at all events serve to prevent that. All this, however, is a digression, suggested by the narrow escape which even Colin Campbell had, after landing at Calcutta, of being virtually shelved, because of not having "passed in the languages." Happily in his instance the Governor-General was able to overcome the scruples of the venerable stickler for local traditions; and Campbell was sent, as brigadier, to command at Lahore, where the Political Resident, Henry Lawrence, was then trying hard to keep the bottled-up genii of the Sikh *darbâr* and army from breaking out again. Between the Resident and the brigadier a warm friendship soon sprung up, for in many ways the two men were kindred spirits. With Sir Charles Napier also Campbell resumed his correspondence; and it is amusing to note how, in letters passing between Lahore and Kurrachee, these two veterans of the stern old school shook their grey heads

confidingly at one another, over 'the great radical reforms' which, in common with all the best local officers, they considered the Indian army to stand in need of, not so much in drill, for the Bengal sepoy always showed well on parade, as in the "system of discipline." In 1848, by which time Lord Dalhousie had become Governor-General, the revolt of Moolraj, and other events happening at Mooltan, brought on the second Sikh war; in which, after a good deal of hope deferred, and several downright disappointments, Campbell was destined to bear a distinguished part. Keeping always strictly within his own lines, he seems to have made it his maxim to leave political affairs to those whose duty they formed. Luckily he kept up his journal, not only while watching from Lahore the current of events, and putting everything within his own command in a state of perfect military preparation, but subsequently also in the field. On this journal, and on his letters, his biographer has as usual drawn largely; and, our limits warning us, we must refer the reader to General Shadwell's pages, if he would follow Campbell's movements fully at the period now arrived at. The chief merit of the operations referred to lay, it must be admitted, in their result. Providence and the British soldier between them pulled, as usual, both generals and politicals tolerably well through several fiascos, and victories that were not altogether victories. These were subjects which Colin Campbell rarely if ever discussed. At Ramnagar only, where two of the stoutest soldiers in the army, Cureton and William Havelock, died like gallant gentlemen in an unfortunate skirmish, does he seem to have departed from his rôle of silent action; his journal showing that, on seeing 'useless duels' between our own and the Sikh cavalry about to take place, he pointed out to the Adjutant-General the 'disadvantage and evil' of such isolated fights; and urged him to speak to the Commander-in-Chief about it. Nothing could be better than the description in his journal of what 'old Nol' might well have called 'the crowning mercy' of Chillianwala. In this Campbell received a deep sword-cut in the right arm, from an artillery man sticking to the last, like a true Sikh, to his gun, who, before drawing his sword, had first fired at the brigadier-general with his matchlock, the ball discharged from which would have done for him, had it not providentially flattened itself against a small double-barreled pistol which his aide-de-camp had on the morning of the action jokingly placed in the "right lower pocket of a waistcoat worked for him years before by a fair Northumbrian friend." The experiences of Chillianwala, and the criticisms which one or two features in the conduct of the battle gave rise to, though not affecting

Campbell's own reputation, had probably something to do with the strong reliance on artillery fire that ever afterwards characterised him. Little as he may have said about the mistakes of others, he was not one to fail to profit by them. The hard-fought Chillianwala having been followed by the fall of Mooltan, and by the discomfiture of the Sikh army, and the extinction of Sikh independency, at Gujrat, his share in which decisive battle is fully described in his journal, the old soldier found an interval of comparative rest at Rawal Pindi; after first helping to chase Dost Mahomed Khan of Kabul and his Afghans back to the mouth of their infernal Khyber. While in command of the garrison at Pindi, he was promoted to be a Knight Commander of the Bath; his title to the epithet of the 'war-bred Sir Colin' so happily bestowed on him by Sir Charles Napier thereby being perfected. With reference to this, what he wrote to his friend Hope Grant was :

"They have made me a K. C. B. I may confess to you, I would much rather have got a year's batta, because the latter would enable me to leave this country a year sooner, and to join some friends of my early days, whom I love very much, and in whose society I would like to spend the period which may yet remain to me between the camp and the grave."

"The day I leave this country will terminate my military career."

Records like the foregoing, when introduced into a man's biography, serve to give a fleshlike colouring to the picture; and in the case of those who have risen to the very highest forms of greatness, perhaps even the proverbial valet's point of view may deserve to be presented, when their histories are being written. But the advantage may be doubted of in ordinary cases thus preserving views or impressions that have been recorded during, so to speak, one of those little periods of congestion or obstruction, stopping far short of actual disease, but still abnormal, to which the thinking faculties, equally with the corporeal organs, cannot but be considered to be liable. Few ever had a sounder sense than Campbell of the over-rulings of divine providence; and if he could have foreseen at this period all that was before him in the Crimea and India, not all the 'endless official letter-writing' which at times oppressed him, nor even the buffetings of his old enemy fever and ague, would have made him give way to home-sickness, or wish to put off his harness too early in the day. More active work was what he really needed, to make him shake off his morbid feelings; and this he presently obtained, on being sent to command the Peshawar district. No more steering clear of political anxieties for him now; for our 'frontier policy' was then at its very knottiest:

and difficult questions were constantly cropping up in connection with it. The Punjab, as some of our readers may remember, formed Lord Dalhousie's pet province. He managed it as he would have done a 'home-farm' in Scotland, and chanced to pay a visit to Peshawar soon after Sir Colin got there. One peculiarity of the situation, looked at from the brigadier-general's view-point, lay in the number of masters there were to serve. The Governor-General was of course supreme, both in military and political affairs. But there was also the Commander-in-Chief to be thought of; while, to increase the friction, the orders of the Punjab Board of Administration (every one knows what 'Boards' are), and even, in certain cases, the requisitions of its local representative, the Peshawar Commissioner, were expected to be given effect to. Immediately beyond the British border, there lay then, as there lie now, tribes famous for their turbulence and love of independence; who, possessing but little corn-land, claim, as the natural yield or usufruct of their mountains, such black-mail or tribute as they can exact from others. Raiding on British territory was, and still is, the established method among these unfriendly neighbours of showing anger or hostility towards us. But then they often did the same thing purely to 'drive a prey;' and it was thus hard to say, when aggression had occurred, what might, or might not, be at the bottom of it. Sir Colin thought that the remedy lay, not so much in counter-raids and punishments, as in a regular system of frontier defence, equipped with fortified posts, roads, bridges, and other communications. Others were all for reprisals, for the burning of villages and the cutting down of crops. Between these two policies Lord Dalhousie's views seem at first to have a good deal oscillated; but, by degrees, as the tribes grew bolder, and the Calcutta press began to clamour for "strong measures," "dash," and so forth, expedition after expedition came to be sent out, generally under Campbell's leading. It was not only that he hated the thought of British troops being employed to destroy villages, "leaving women and young children to perish with cold in the depth of winter." Having regard to that only, there could have been no difference of sentiment among our officials, from the Governor-General downward. What Campbell, as a professional soldier, felt more forcibly than some others, was the magnitude of the risks incurred, and the smallness of the results obtained, as often as Her Majesty's soldiers were employed in mountainous districts against hillmen, practised, like David, from their youth upwards, in independent fighting, and able to move with extraordinary secrecy and rapidity. "If your Lordship," he on one occasion wrote to Lord Dalhousie,

while out on a *razzia* of this kind, "were to take a sheet of "stiff writing-paper, and crumple it in your hands, the paper "in that form would convey a better idea of the broken and rugged "surface of this hilly country than any description I could give "you." To some extent his counsels prevailed; to some extent they were over-ruled; and General Shadwell's accounts of his several expeditions against the Mohmunds and others form so valuable a contribution to the science and art of mountain warfare, that the pity is the book could not have been in the hands of our generals during recent operations in Afghanistan. With all this, things failed to work smoothly. Lord Dalhousie, as is well known, added to many of the greatnesses, one or two of the failings of genius; and in process of time he arrived at the conclusion that the Peshawar General had once or twice shown an 'over-cautious reluctance' about chastising marauders. It was not to be expected that his lordship, after having so recently suffered India to lose the services of a soldier whose co-operation might have shed so much additional lustre on his own administration, and perhaps even averted the catastrophe of the great mutiny, namely, of course Sir Charles Napier, would tolerate what he regarded as antagonism in a subordinate military commander. Learning from Sir Charles' successor, the late amiable Sir W. Gomm, whose views coincided with his own, that the Governor-General was about to censure him, in connexion with a certain expedition that had proved only half an expedition into Swat, Sir Colin Campbell, on 3rd June 1852, resigned his command, and prepared to return to England. On the circumstances thus briefly indicated as having produced the above result, the only opinion here offered is that reasons bearing on the military defence of India having led to a soldier of rank being posted at Peshawar, it was perhaps too much to expect of him that, in order to adapt himself to the exigencies of an abnormal political situation, he should unlearn the lessons of a lifetime, and command two brigades of Her Majesty's or the Company's forces as an amateur soldier might do the levies of a rajah. For the rest, we could almost have wished that Sir Colin, instead of making the 'canny' exit he did, had waited till the Governor-General's censure had reached him, and then, standing on his dignity, resigned, since that was what he had made up his mind to do. This however is a matter of opinion. So far as the approval of his own profession went, he carried his bat with him, if ever any man did so, when he went out. The Commander-in-Chief explained it all very favourably to the Horse-Guards, Sir C. Napier wrote to him from England one of his characteristic letters, which General Shadwell, we rather think, has published for the first time; and which forms, with all its brevity and banter, a

sound commentary on military 'exploiting' in semi-barbarous countries. His resignation would have been marked, had his keen sense of subordination permitted, by an entertainment to which the officers of the Company's army at Peshawar invited him. By this time, too, Lord Dalhousie's humour had changed. 'The laird of Cockpen,' as Sir Charles Napier had dubbed him, was a thorough gentleman; and although formidable enough, as became him, when his Norman blood was up, and his lance in rest, not one of the order of

'Ever-angry bears',

once the fray was over. The Government despatch acknowledging the services of the troops employed in Swat reached Peshawar after Campbell had left it. In it there was an expression of the Governor-General's regret that "any incident should have occurred to censure (*sic*) any portion of Sir Colin Campbell's conduct;" also a handsome tribute to the "personal intrepidity and activity, and the sterling soldierly qualities, which this distinguished officer had displayed in the military command of the troops at Peshawar, upon every occasion upon which they had taken the field." And so the curtain fell on the first of Campbell's two several periods of service in India. In a few months' time he was back again on his old stint—half-pay; though now with a deposit of rupees to draw upon when necessary. Lord Hardinge was then Commander-in-Chief, and one of his first steps, on a force being ordered to the Levant, was to nominate Sir Colin for the command of one of its brigades. The Crimean expedition following suit, and the famous Highland brigade, containing the 42nd, 79th and 93rd Highlanders, falling to Campbell's lot, the autumn of 1854, saw him land at the head of it in the Crimea. Here unfortunately the journal was not kept up; and even private correspondence is understood to have flagged. Where letters from him have been forthcoming they have been quoted; where otherwise his biographer, though having been present as a member of his staff, has been well able to carry on the 'plain unvarnished tale.' It is noticeable that one or two of the romantic stories, arising chiefly out of Sir Colin's connexion with the Highland brigade, which excited so much interest at the time, have not found a place in the biography—a remark not applicable, we are glad to see, to the incident of the Highland bonnet; which is thus told by Sir Colin in a letter to his friend, Colonel Henry Eyre, descriptive of the passage of the Alma:—

* * * "It (Alma) was a fight of the Highland brigade. Lord Raglan came up afterwards and sent for me.

When I approached him I observed his eyes to fill, and his lips and countenance to quiver. He gave me a cordial shake of the hand, but he

could not speak. The men cheered very much. I told them I was going to ask the Commander-in-Chief a great favour—that he would permit me to have the honour of wearing the Highland bonnet during the rest of the campaign, which pleased them very much; and so ended my part in the fight of the 20th instant.

My men behaved nobly. I never saw troops march to battle with greater *sang froid* and order than those three Highland regiments. Their conduct was very much admired by all who witnessed their behaviour.

I write on the ground. I have neither stool to sit on nor bed to lie on. I have not had my clothes off since we landed on the 14th. I am in capital health, for which I have to be very thankful. Cholera is rife among us, and carrying off many fine fellows of all ranks."

Now there is much in the above passage which should be weighed by all who, would lightly throw away those outward signs so dear to soldiers with which *esprit de corps* is interwoven. The rage for innovation seems to require feeding, like a fire or a steam engine; and a venerable ecclesiastical establishment, or a great national policy, not being always within reach to be tampered with or pulled down, even so small a morsel as the badge of a Welsh or Highland regiment comes in useful as a *pis aller* serving to keep the ball in motion for the time being. But we should beware of making our little army less—for that is what it practically amounts to—through the ignoring of those feelings which Sir Colin turned to such good account in asking leave to wear the Highland bonnet while commanding the Highland brigade. We may think ourselves in all respects wiser than those who have gone before us; but it does not follow that we are so. After the excitement of the Alma, Campbell and his brigade settled down to what was to be their principal work during the great siege, namely, the defence of the town and harbour of Balaklava, the base of the English operations, and, in the opinion of Sir John Burgoyne, one of the three vulnerable points in the British position. Of the battles of Balaklava and Inkerman he was a spectator, rather than an actor in them; and even during the attacks on the Malakoff and the great Redan, the Highlanders were but slightly used. Their opportunity, as readers of Kinglake will remember, was to have been afforded to them in following up the first with a second attack on the Redan, had not the Russians in the interval saved all necessity for it by blowing up their magazines, and executing their memorable retreat from Sebastopol. At Balaklava the labour was heavy; the vigilance called for unceasing; and the anxiety trying. For officers and men it was like being for months at a time on picket. The 'system of regimental discipline' to which reference has been made above produced as excellent results as ever; and when it came to large fatigue parties having to be supplied daily for the improvement

of the defences, and for the carrying up of shot and shell, rations and hutting materials, from the ships, Sir Colin's soldiers, working under his own eye, and animated by officers whom they felt to be their comrades, distinguished themselves greatly. For details the reader is referred to General Shadwell's pages ; with merely the remark that the length of time which has intervened has, in so far as these glimpses of Sir Colin personally are concerned, added to, rather than diminished, the freshness of the picture. When, after the fall of Sébastopol, but before the war was over, Campbell visited England on leave, he found himself, to his surprise, quite a considerable man ; and the War Minister thought it necessary to write a laboured letter to him, which the honest old soldier rightly denominated ' flummery,' by way of reconciling him to the prospect of serving under a junior officer, Sir W. Codrington, on returning to the Crimea. With far different feelings did he receive a command from our beloved sovereign to pay his *devoirs* at Windsor ; where, in the words of his biographer, the " gracious reception accorded to him by the Queen " and the Prince Consort struck a responsive chord in his heart, " and kindling all his highland loyalty and devotion, made him, as he afterwards said, " willing to serve under a corporal, " if such was his royal mistress' will and pleasure. Returning to the Crimea, he had hardly resumed his old terms of intimacy with his French and English comrades, when the conclusion of peace set him free altogether. At home fresh surprises awaited him ; notably, a sword subscribed for by 6,000 persons, which his native Glasgow gave him, together with the freedom of the city. The *perfervidum ingenium* was thoroughly warmed ; and thousands in the west of Scotland doubtless believed that not a soldier, save he and his highlanders had ever landed in the Crimea, or, if so, that none of them had had anything to do with the taking of Sebastopol ! After holding various commands at home, Sir Colin reached the climax of his career when, on every mail bringing worse and worse accounts of the progress of mutiny in Bengal, he was ordered to India as Commander-in-Chief. Nothing could have been more unpromising than the aspect of affairs when he reached Calcutta on August 13th, 1857. The situation is described with tolerable accuracy in the volumes before us : and they who would realise more fully the nature of the task awaiting him, as well as how he performed it, cannot do better than supplement their reading of this portion of the biography by dipping freely into such works as Russell's ' Diary in India,' and the continuation by Colonel Malleon of Sir John Kaye's ' Sepoy War.' The way indeed in which military and political memoirs thus carry us into history forms one of the

special charms of this kind of biography ; and of recent books there are few to which this remark is more applicable than to the one before us. Bad as things looked in India at the period now referred to, with Delhi still imparting a sort of bastard political consistency to the revolt, our hold on Oudh restricted to the area of the Lucknow Residency only, the great native princes merely biding their time to strike in, and our prestige reeling under the effects of the Cawnpore catastrophe, one or two sound points were yet discoverable also. Thus the recently annexed Punjab had either shown no very deeply-seated disposition to rebel ; or the grasp of Sir John Lawrence had proved too strong for it if it had. Broken as our communications were, Havelock and his small but stubborn column had re-established order, at all events, on the grand trunk road, between the great advanced base of Allahabad and Cawnpore. Lord Canning, with all his gentleness and hatred of 'jingoism,' was strong with a kind of strength which, if not fully appreciated at the time, has won for him the admiration of a later generation. And, last and best of all, reinforcements of English soldiers and sailors were being poured into the country with a rapidity which should not be forgotten by those who incline to the opinion that England does not and need not greatly care whether she keeps or loses India. After spending a month and a half at his sea base, and, in concert with the Governor-General, organising measures for the reception and despatch of reinforcements, Sir Colin was at last able to transfer his head-quarters to Cawnpore ; narrowly escaping falling into the hands of a body of mutineers, as he passed up the grand trunk road. By that time, Delhi had been recovered. Havelock and Outram had effected their in some respects brilliant entry into Lucknow ; where however, with the garrison which they had reinforced, and perhaps saved from destruction, they were still shut up. But, although the tide had thus manifestly begun to turn, all India was still in a most critical condition ; and a false step, or an unwise delay, might easily have made matters worse than ever. Oudh, the home of the Bengal army, remained in its hands ; and there, if anywhere at all in India, the revolt had struck root among the hardy and martial races cultivating the soil. Owing in part to the proximity of Sindhia's mutinied Contingent, and in part to the large bodies of sepoy which were everywhere on the move, Campbell's new head-quarters had more the character of an outpost in an enemy's country, than of a town and station which had formed but six months previously a centre of English authority, and a famous seat of Indian industry. Only four

marches then separated him from Lucknow, where, according to the accounts received, the garrison was growing straitened for want of food. The wonder was, indeed, that their supplies had proved so copious. This was chiefly due to the admirable preparations made by Sir Henry Lawrence, before the siege began; but partly also to the rations of prime beef afforded by the gun bullocks of the Indian artillery. Moreover, in a country where nearly every European keeps, or kept, his farm-yard and store-rooms, the hoards existing in houses within the *enceinte* were considerable. These were in some cases reserved by their owners till relief was near, and then brought out; and this may easily have confirmed the impression, formed after the garrison had been extricated, that it might safely have been allowed to take care of itself while Cawnpore was being secured. The remark last made refers to the old controversy, which Campbell's biographer has wisely not revived, whether the General did right in advancing on Lucknow without first rendering his base and line of operations safe. At Lucknow there were at least 600 women and children, and a thousand sick and wounded; and this fact may even be held to place an operation designed for the succour of so many helpless people beyond the pale of military criticism altogether. That Campbell did not at once give way to the cry for relief coming from the Oudh capital is shown by his letters; but that, he fell into error as to the actual circumstances of the garrison is evident from his having written to his sister, just before setting out from Cawnpore, that "our friends in Lucknow have food only for five or six days." Different views of the food question are doubtless apt to be taken. When Clive was holding Arcot, and feared being starved into surrender, his sepoy wished that all the grain should be given to their European comrades, and only the water in which it had been boiled served out to them. Thus also stout old Miles Bellenden had made up his mind not to give over Tillietudlem to the Covenanters, till his "auld boots" had been eaten up, soles included, by the garrison. That the defenders of Lucknow would have shown the same spirit, who can question? From all we have heard, too, of Indian Commissariat officers, we incline to the opinion that it would have taken five or six weeks, or possibly even months, to bring the sepoy of the Baillie-Guard to rice-water, or its European braves to the eating up of their old boots. Therefore, perhaps, it was a pity that Campbell did not follow the rules of his art, and deal decisively with all who were threatening his base, before crossing the Ganges into Oudh. He would then, as now seems probable, equally have effected his immediate and pressing object, the rescue of those

in the Residency. He would also have been spared the pain of hurriedly evacuating Lucknow, after having penetrated to the heart of it. And lastly, he would have averted what was within an ace of proving a terrible disaster, namely, the attack by the Gwalior Contingent and their allies on Cawnpore. As it was, his operations for the withdrawal of the garrison, were skilfully planned, and brilliantly executed. He had with him a powerful artillery, and used it effectively. Highlanders and Sikhs vied with one another in forwardness and devotion. The men of Oudh fought with stubborn gallantry. In defending the Secunder Bagh alone, at least 2,000 sepoys and matchlockmen died for the independence of their country. By the time communication with the garrison was established, our loss was 45 officers, and 496 men, killed and wounded. On one occasion, the Commander-in-Chief himself was wounded by a bullet, which had first passed through the body of a gunner. The garrison was withdrawn in masterly fashion. Some of them, we know, were shocked at the idea of the position for which they had fought so hard being thus abandoned. But all must have thanked God that a struggle unique in the national annals had ended in a manner reflecting unqualified glory on the national prowess.

After leaving Outram with a strong column to entrench himself outside Lucknow, and burying all that was mortal of Henry Havelock in the grounds of Alam Bagh, Campbell and his unwieldy convoy soon reached Cawnpore; where the attack developed by the Gwalior Contingent almost as soon as his back had been turned had by that time become formidable; General Windham, who had been left in command, having found himself unable to repel it. The first words addressed to the Commander-in-Chief, as he galloped across the bridge of boats into Cawnpore, were that the garrison "was at its last gasp." The officer who said so was, we feel sure, not rewarded by Sir Colin with a staff appointment. The truth certainly was that a crisis was then at its height; and that if, as might easily have occurred, Sir Colin had been detained for ever so short a time longer at Lucknow, events productive of the most sinister consequences might have befallen. As it was, he had only to hold his hand till the women and children for whom he had risked so much had reached a place of safety, and then strike fast and hard. How he did so is well narrated by General Shadwell. The enemy, flushed with success, disposed about 25,000 men, and forty pieces of cannon. In a few days Sir Colin and his generals scattered them; taking all their guns but one, at the cost of only 99 casualties. No doubt, the beaten foe was dispersed

rather than destroyed. Asiatics can die bravely when there is no help for it; but prefer, when victory seems beyond their reach, to save themselves for some more favourable opportunity. With all that, Campbell's operations at Cawnpore were decisive. Perhaps they even had the effect of giving to the troubles of the period the more or less localised character which they soon afterwards assumed. At all events it must by that time have been plain to India, that for the present no change of masters was to be feared or hoped for. It was now December 1857. Sir Colin Campbell was no longer a regimental commander, or a brigade leader only; but a general officer in high and independent command, having interests and responsibilities of exceptional importance intrusted to him. Strategy, not merely tactics, was what he had now chiefly to deal with—maps of India, not parade grounds. Whether he ever rose to the new level is an open question. His Chief of the Staff, afterwards Lord Sandhurst, was an accomplished man, rather than an accomplished soldier; and Campbell both loved him and leaned on him. That both should have been in favour of Oudh being allowed to lie seething in the possession of a powerful enemy till the autumn of 1858, seems at this distance of time scarcely credible. Yet so it was; and but for the quiet determination of the Governor-General on this point, the recapture of the city to which, after the fall of Delhi, the eyes of all Muhammadan India turned would have been postponed, in order that outlying districts, recoverable at any time by partisan soldiers at a few blows, might be dealt with *secundum artem*, on plans elaborated in the Commander-in-Chief's office. The correspondence which passed between Lord Canning and Sir Colin Campbell on the above topic is published almost *in extenso* in the biography. The moment the Governor-General's views were finally announced in regard to it, Campbell of course thought only of how to give effect to them; and, keeping his own counsel, as was his wont, began to make the most thorough dispositions for the reduction of Lucknow. After all, delay occurred. This time nothing was to be left to chance; and there were to be none of those rushes, in the face of overwhelming odds and difficulties, which marked the early days of the mutiny. General Havelock, in an order issued to his soldiers after one of his battles near Cawnpore, had well observed that, if the enemy could be beaten *then*, what would be the 'triumph and retribution' witnessed when the armies on their way to Calcutta should 'sweep through the land.' That time had now come. A force of 19,000 men, afterwards swelled by the Nepaul-ese auxiliaries to 31,000, with 164 guns, was about to move from its rendezvous. At the end of February the Commander-

in-Chief put himself at its head, proud of it certainly, but even prouder of a letter received by him just about that time from his sovereign congratulating him on his exploit of the previous November. Her Majesty's gracious communication, and the words in which Campbell acknowledged it, are among the most interesting of all the many interesting documents enriching General Shadwell's pages. The city against which these preparations were directed was one of the greatest and fairest in India. Washed by the winding Gumti, as Stirling is by the 'links of Forth,' filled with mosques, palaces and gardens, and warm as yet with the life of its then but recently lost independence, Lucknow was to the people of Oudh all that Paris is to Frenchmen. Its population was computed at 280,000; its more regular defenders at not less than 100,000, with 131 pieces of artillery. Outer walls were wanting; town and suburbs blending with country, and country carrying itself into town. Some of the buildings contained in it were formidable places, now that they had been turned into citadels. With a Todleben to defend it, Lucknow would have been hard to take. As it was, the sepoys had traversed both city and suburbs with earthen parapets resembling huge railway embankments, besides erecting redoubts and other works. Most of these were traced on the supposition that the attack would develop itself merely along the established lines of communication; the idea of their being taken *en enfilade*, and even in reverse, as Campbell took them, having apparently never entered any one's head. The principal resistance offered to the advance occurred in more or less isolated posts or buildings, such as no European engineer would ever have thought in such circumstances of trying to defend at all. In one of these (the Queen's palace) what the official despatch described as "the sternest struggle of the siege", took place; the enemy inflicting severe loss on the stormers; and leaving behind them 700 brave men. Clearing his way before him with artillery fire, and never advancing a step till the ground on which he stood was secured, Campbell seems quickly to have demoralised the defenders by the force of his attack. The investment of a city twenty miles in circumference had of course not been attempted; and the weak point in the operations was the facilities which were left to the enemy of beating a retreat, single or in masses, the moment he grew tired of fighting. At Lucknow, as elsewhere, 'combinations' do not seem always to have answered. Even the flank operations under Outram on the left bank of the Gumti, though well conceived and executed strictly according to order, did not prevent the sepoys from escaping; while another considerable movement, undertaken chiefly with that one object in view, proved from whatever causes,

unsuccessful. And yet the general result was brilliant. In twenty days, with the loss of only nineteen officers killed, and forty-eight wounded, the casualties among the common soldiers aggregating 735, at least 100,000 combatants were expelled from a vast city abounding in cover, and in strong positions both natural and artificial. It is only in the East—where he who dares the most (if not an absolute fool) wins the most—that feats of arms such as this are possible. No one can read General Shadwell's volumes without seeing what an excellent school India is for practical soldiership. During this siege of Lucknow alone many names, we notice, occur which have been heard of again subsequently. Napier, now Lord Napier of Magdála—then fast working his way by sheer weight of metal to the foremost rank—was chief engineer. Garnet Wolseley, then a young captain, commanded, if we mistake not, a company of the ninetieth regiment. At least six of the names appearing in recent gazettes of Afghan honours were more or less prominent also during this siege; viz., Roberts, Macpherson, Hills, Macgregor and the Goughs; while of those who 'remained on the field,' or afterwards died of their wounds, there was at least one—William Peel of the 'Shannon'—whose services to his country, if he had been spared, would everyone knew have been great. And yet, with all this, we would do well to guard against believing that the same strategies, to say nothing of the same disproportions in numbers, which sometimes answer so well in Asia would carry us very far against organised and scientifically commanded forces.

Lucknow thus recovered, the Commander-in-Chief would have devoted himself, *more suo*, to the re-occupation of Oudh on the soundest military principles, and made what he termed a 'complete job' of that, before breaking fresh ground. The Governor-General on the other hand, could not afford to leave conterminous provinces rampant with rebellion till that was effected. Campbell of course acquiescing, and the wresting of Rohilcund from the enemy being resolved on, two forces, one of them under the personal direction of the Commander-in-Chief, were soon converging from different quarters on the chief town of the district, Bareilly. Notwithstanding this strategical combination, and a certain amount of hard fighting at Bareilly, the enemy in the end for the most part got away. In order to cut an Asiatic foe in two, and then chop up the pieces, especially under the broiling sun of May, Saladin's scimitar, rather than Cœur-de-lion's two-handed sword, is needed. Indeed, it stands to reason that regiments fresh from England, every soldier big with beef and beer, and bound up in broadcloth and leather, can rarely, except by chance, give a good account of fleeing horse

and foot, subsisting on parched peas and well-water, and innocent of all clothing, save turban and loin-cloth. Although our limits do not admit of our following Sir Colin, even in sketchiest fashion, through all his labours for the pacification of India, it must not be thought that those labours were over, whether as regards himself personally, or his lieutenants and their columns, when the successes just glanced at had been made good. It is not unlikely that the anxieties and exposure to which he and all under him were subjected while the fires kindled by, or with, the mutiny were going out, equalled those which had arisen while the blaze was at its height. By this time, Campbell and others had at all events the unqualified appreciation of their sovereign, and the unbounded admiration of their fellow subjects, to sustain them. Mail after mail took with it to India the clearest proofs of that. Sir Colin was raised to the peerage; and the most flattering encomiums on his services were recorded. As regards his peerage, what he said about it was that he had been "singled out for honour in a manner which had never entered his imagination;" that the "indomitable perseverance of the British soldier was what had carried the nation through a very ticklish crisis," and that he would have been very grateful to have been left without any other rank than his professional one. His title, as is usual in such cases, he himself selected; bethinking himself naturally, as others also did for him, of the noble river to which Scotland owes so much of her beauty, and his native Glasgow so much of her prosperity. Perhaps he had loved it all his life, as Scott did the Tweed, and often thought of it during nights of watching in the Peninsula, India, and the Crimea. In many respects his own course had been something like the river's—small beginnings, early struggles, chequered scenes, progress ever onward, and at last a splendid current; so that now when his career was full there was an appropriateness in his being called after it.

The military operations which Lord Clyde found himself obliged after all to set on foot and personally direct, during the winter of 1858, for the reduction of Oudh were diversified by the consideration of several topics of army administration referred to him from time to time by the Government of India. Some of these were important, such as the excitement which showed itself among the Company's European soldiers, on an attempt being made to transfer them bodily, not so much against their will, for that was not the point, as without any recognition of their rights as Englishmen, from the service for which they stood enlisted and attested to that of the Crown. Had Campbell's counsels on this point prevailed, the Governmen

would have been saved a great deal of vexation and humiliation ; and an argument hardly relevant would not have been created against the enlistment of our own countrymen, or other Europeans, for service exclusively in India, in the event of such a measure having seemed at any future period advisable. These topics are held to be out of date now ; and we have no intention of dwelling on them ; General Shadwell having, as his duty required of him, done full justice to the part taken by Lord Clyde in the discussion of them.

By May 1859 British supremacy was, after a two years' struggle, re-established in India. All confidence, it is true, was gone in the old system of depending chiefly on sepoy mercenaries ; and it had been pronounced necessary that the "British standing army of all arms must always be kept up for the presidency of Bengal at 60,000 men." But with all this, the country was fast relapsing into that condition of profound peace and security which happily it has maintained ever since. Campbell therefore not unnaturally began to feel that the time had come when he might hang up his sword. He was now in his sixty-seventh year, no age at all for a fox-hunter, or even for a hard-worked statesman who has lived chiefly in England ; but enough for the battered soldier,

"Multo jam fractus membra labore."

He was beginning to *feel* old. His taste for early rising had slackened. Even his morning walk (at Simla) had ceased to please. Colds and other ailments often got hold of him ; and most decided change of all, a wheeled vehicle he now preferred to his saddle. One thing after another occurred to keep him at his post till the 4th of June 1860 ; when he at last sailed for England. His relations with Lord Canning had always been of the most cordial and delightful description ; and the leave-taking scene we can easily understand to have been other than a cold official ceremony. His father, it seems, had died near Edinburgh, not long before his distinguished son's return—the Maclivers having been a long-lived race, obviously. His sister was alive to receive him. The warmth of the welcome which he met with from all classes in England made up to him in some degree, let us hope, for his want of kindred. He never was married. With all his experiences, he had missed what Burns in a moment of genuine inspiration called

"The true pathos and sublime
Of human life."

Many years previously, when quartered at Newcastle, much pleasant social intercourse had been thrown open to him, his biographer

tells us, by the neighbouring county families and others; and his "lively and agreeable conversation, as well as his conspicuously "delicate and refined manners, especially towards women, had "made him a remarkable favourite with ladies, both old and "young." His brief sojourn in the north at that time, we are further told, was not "without some romance in it, the recollection of which "was a frequent source of pleasure to him in after-years." Very likely this passage throws light on the fair 'Northumbrian friend,' who, as is discovered later on in the life, worked for him the garment which saved him at Chillianwala. If so, why did he not marry her? And having failed to do so, how is it that the 'romance' caused him pleasure afterwards? These are the only mysteries in all General Shadwell's two volumes; and we are far from hinting that he has acted otherwise than discreetly in preserving his friend's secret, if ever there was one, and letting the waistcoat speak for itself, as its fair donor probably intended it should do. This we say without concealing our regret that Campbell should have gone through life alone. When an ancient line, the *presidium et dulce decus* of perhaps a couple of counties, dies out for want of heirs, like the 'sough of an old song,' the loss is a national one. And so it is also when a soldier or statesman who, by the display of noble qualities, has won for himself a noble name dies without leaving to his country the precious legacy of a son.

The evening of Lord Clyde's life had now come, but it was a long summer evening, filled with pleasant lights, and passing gently into night. In 'manhood's glorious prime' he had inscribed on the fly-leaf of one of his memorandum books, these lines:

"By means of patience, common sense and time,
Impossibility becomes possible."

In his own case the motto had been illustrated; and there remained now little more than the retrospect and the example. Honours continued to fall thick on his path, like fruits in autumn. The colonelcy of the Coldstreams, the freedom of the city of London, Knighthood of the Star of India, and, to crown all, the baton of a Field-Marshal, were bestowed on him. Sitting for his portrait, visiting dear old friends, both in England and abroad, attending occasionally to his duties in the Upper House, and explaining at the Horse-Guards the merits of some of those who had served under him, claimed what time and strength remained. In the course of one year, at this period, he gave away in money £6,792. A weakened condition of the heart was found to be what was wearing him

down. At last, after a short illness, on 14th August 1863, in the 71st year of his age, the end came, and the release. The nation mourned for one whose deeds were still fresh; and when he was laid in what was after all his soldier's grave, in Westminster Abbey, it was felt that a standard-bearer had fallen. He was not great, in the sense that Wellington was; nor many-sided, like Charles Napier; nor intellectual; nor even, perhaps, highly educated; but he was great at seeing and doing his duty; great in earnestness and simplicity of purpose, forgetfulness of self and loyalty to his country; and great in doing with all his might whatever was given to him to do. Of the manner in which his friend and biographer has performed his labour of love we cannot speak too highly. Scarcely a trace of exaggeration is to be met with; and although there may be room for compression hereafter, a less full presentment might not at first have satisfied at all events the military reader. Having been rather chary of our extracts from volumes which we feel sure have been widely read, we can the better afford to quote the following passage, in the hope of its arresting the attention of those responsible for our military administration:

"He welcomed with eagerness the introduction of such innovations as tended to advance the theoretical and practical instruction of all ranks of the service; and when in positions of command, he seconded with all his energy the efforts of the authorities to this end. On one point, however, he held the most decided opinion. He placed unbounded faith in the OLD SOLDIER; whose presence in the ranks, whether as an example of discipline to his younger comrade, or a support to him in the hour of trial, he regarded as the basis of his calculations, in determining the physical and tactical value of the forces at his disposal. Those who were by Lord Clyde's side during the Indian mutiny, will have in their recollection the relief he felt at seeing a battalion of seasoned and experienced soldiers, weak though their numbers might be, join his force which was so largely composed of young regiments."

The above views belong, we are aware, like Campbell himself, to the 'old world,' and to the epoch of Waterloo and Trafalgar. Campbell had good reason for adhering to them to the last; for if one thing saved India more than another during the crisis of the mutiny, it was the number of regiments composed of old soldiers, such as the 78th Highlanders, and the Company's local battalions of Europeans, which were present in the country at the time.

ART. III.—A SONG ABOUT SAKHI SARWAR.

Sabh taufiqân Sâin Sachche,
Jumlyân de Rabb parde kajje,
Jo kujh châhe sof kardâ,
Lore kon hatâyâ ?

Ape lendâ, âpe dendâ,
Sâhib Dâtâ sakal jyân dâ ;
Ik lakh kaî churâsî jûnâ
Maullâ rizaq puchâyâ.

MR. MACAULIFFE in the January number 1875 of this Review has given a slight sketch of the "Fair at Sakhî Sarwar," and, as far as I know, this is the only occasion on which this celebrated Saint of the Panjâb and the town named after him have been brought before the public.

In the article in question there is not much information regarding Sakhî Sarwar given, and the truth is there is not very much to be said about him in the way of history. As regards legend, however, there is no lack of material in the Panjâb, as he is very widely worshipped,—much more so than most people suspect,—and that, too, almost entirely by the poor and ignorant, among whom, of course, legends would soon gain ground and flourish. In many thousands of families his name is a household word, and whole sects of *bharâins*, or bards, make a living by celebrating his praises and the innumerable miracles attributed to him. To such an extent has this been going on, that there is now a sort of Sarwar slang or phraseology which obtrudes itself everywhere on the attention of the student of these bards' songs : one constantly meets with words which apparently have no meaning in the context, but which are explained as having a special interpretation and as being peculiar to the bards and the worshippers of the Saint. None of the songs about Sarwar (and these appear to be many, probably, however, mostly variations of a few main songs) have ever, as far as my information goes, been committed to writing in original. Mrs. F. A. Steel, my co-adjutrix in the collection of Panjâbi folklore now being published in the *Indian Antiquary*, after much trouble, got together some eight or ten for me, one of which forms the subject of this paper. When one takes into consideration that these bards are completely ignorant of religion and history, sing in the vulgarest Panjâbi entirely from memory, and with the calmest indifference as to the proper sequence of the verses, are invariably unable to explain any allusions with clearness—their explanations being all traditional and frequently obviously wrong,—it is not difficult to see that it has been no easy task to sift their songs and make sense and sequence out of them.

It is not my intention to repeat here what Mr. Macauliffe has already said about the Saint's life and story, and what I have

independently discovered, will be related elsewhere in due course, when I come to edit the songs that have been collected. I will therefore merely relate what is necessary to explain the song. Sarwar, or Sakhî Sarwar Sultân, as the full title runs, is a mere title and nothing more, the Saint's real name was Sayad Ahmed. His father, whose name was Zainu-'l-'âbdîn, was probably sprung from one of the Muhammadan host that came into India during the Ghaznavide occupation (997 to 1186 A. D.). At any rate Sarwar seems to have flourished between 1128 and 1177 A. D. Several places in the Panjâb are connected specially with his name: Lahore itself, Saudhara in the Gujrânwâlâ district, Mûltân, and finally Vador and Nigâhâ (better known to Europeans as Sakhî Sarwar) in the Dera Ghâzî Khân district, at which last his shrine is situated. At this shrine is a vast annual fair, attended from all parts of the Panjâb by Hindus, Sikhs and Musalmâns of the lower sort alike and held in Baisâkh (April). The shrine, as it at present stands, was built, they say, by one 'Isâ of Delhi, in Aurangzeb's time (1658—1707 A. D.), and improved by the Diwâns Lakhpat Rai and Jaspat Rai of Lahore about A.D. 1730.* These names are significant of the general esteem of the Saint and the mixed religion of his worshippers. The shrine has been again further improved in the matter of water-supply under English occupation, probably for reasons of public health.

Miracles of course Sarwar performed during his life, and has continued to perform since his death. One of the most celebrated of these miracles is the restoration to life of the child of one Dânf, a Sikh woman. Dânf was a Siddhu Jatt and came from Lândeke in the Mogha Tahsîl of the Ferozpur district, which village is now held by her descendants, who call themselves Sultânîs or followers of Sakhî Sarwar Sultân. This miracle was performed during a pilgrimage to Nigâhâ, undertaken by Dânf in honour of her having at last prayed in despair to Sarwar for a son after 12 years of childless wifehood and having had her prayer granted. Owing, however, to her not having properly fulfilled her vow, the child was slain by Sarwar and restored to life again at Dânf's entreaty by the Saint. This power of granting sons is thoroughly Indian, and is ascribed I think to every *Pir* and *Bhagat*.

The song here rendered into English verse relates the story of Dânf in full, and is interesting I think not only for the poetical elements contained in it and its curious language, but as illustrating most of the peculiarities of the cultus of Sarwar and indeed of all Panjâb hagiolatry. The first thing to be noticed

* Diwân Lakhpat Rai was killed 1743 A. D.—Griffin's *Rajas of the Panjâb*, 456.
by the famous Sikh leader Jassa Singh Ahluwâlî of Kapurthallâ in

in the song is the charming indifference as to religious forms shown in it. Sarwar is nothing, if not Muhammadan, and yet his minister is Bhairûn, which is modern Panjâbi for Bhairava, a form of Siva in his dreadful shape! This mixing of Muhammadan and Hindu superstitions and beliefs of the lower classes is not, however, peculiar to the Panjâb, but exists equally in Bengal and elsewhere. Dâni is a Sikh woman by religion, but I do not know that that would influence her much as regards going to a Muhammadan Saint for help. At any rate Bâbâ Nânak set a good example on this point; witness his intercourse with Shekh Farîd, Makhdûm Bahâu'ddin (more correctly I believe Bahâu'lhaqq) of Mûltân and many other Pîrs. The *Adi Granth*, or Sikh Scriptures, goes so far as to include writings by Shekh Farîd. However, be this as it may, Dâni and Sarwar in the song discuss the respective merits of Sarwar and the Bhagats, Nâmdev and Dhannâ, and from the words put into Sarwar's mouth it is clear the poet saw nothing in this, and believed as much in these Hindu Bhagats as he did in Sarwar, the Pîr. And this brings me to another point. Your true wandering bard, or popular poet, cares little or nothing for chronology, and very little, it must also be said, for geography and history. Sarwar lived in the 12th century A. D.; these two Bhagats were disciples of Kabîr and contemporaries of Bâbâ Nânak, and therefore did not come on the scene till the end of the 15th century: Dâni was a Sikh, and, according to the song, visited Jhandiâla, then a holy place. Now Jhandiâla (near Amritsar) was founded as a sacred place by "Guru" Handâl in 1561 A.D., according to all accounts; so from the song Dâni must have flourished some time after that date. That Dâni and Sarwar should converse together at the least computation 500 years after the latter's death may not seem to the vulgar Panjâbi to be curious, but that they should discuss Dhannâ and Nâmdev is at least remarkable! This visit to Jhandiâla helps us to fix the date of the song as not earlier than the middle of the 17th century, which conclusion the language warrants. The *Lambardâr* or headman of Lândeke, the village above mentioned, says he is the grandson of Dâni, and consequently the son of the boy who was raised from the dead! So perhaps Dâni's date may be as late as about 1820. The poem was written by one Nihâlâ, but who he was I do not know.

The song, as I have before said, tells the whole story, and we can follow Dâni all through her journey, though the end is characteristically lame.* She starts from her home and travels to Jhandiâla

* I fancy the abrupt endings to so traditions being entirely oral and many oriental folktales are due to failure of memory resulting from the never committed to paper.

near Amritsar: we can then follow her down the Bârî Doâb, along the left bank of the river Râvî, to Mûltân, whence she turns northwards, somewhat unaccountably crossing the Satlaj (properly Gârâ), there called the Tirmu, at the Tirmu (Trimmu officially) ferry near Serâi Siddhu, whence she finds her way over the Indus to Dera Ghazi Khan, and thence to the sacred spots of Vador and Nigâhâ. Arrived at Nigâhâ, the child dies, and is restored to life by Sarwar at Dâni's intercession, when she is alone at night in the shrine, and next day she tells the story to her friends. It is curious to observe the want of "proof" shown here as to the facts on which this miracle rests, and yet it is one which has done much to exalt Sarwar's fame in the eyes of the people. According to the story itself Dâni hid her child's death from her relatives from fear—no one knew of it, and, when it came to life again, only she herself was present. So the believers in Sarwar have only her word to go upon, not only for the story of the restoration to life, but even for the very death which preceded it. However I presume the true believer in saints and their miracles is not supposed to look too closely into proofs, or there would be no merit in his faith!

It will be observed that the metre of the song is a peculiar one, and that the stanzas are of unequal length. In rendering the song metrically into English, I have exactly maintained the rhyme and rhythm of the original in its every peculiarity and have endeavoured, to the best of my ability, to present the ideas contained in it, as well as its form, to the English reader. It may, however, sound rank heresy to orthodox scholars of what the Continental doctors call Hinduî poetry, to say that any English rhymes could maintain "exactly the rhyme and rhythm" of any possible form of native, as distinguished from Mission School, Panjâbi poetry. No doubt the expression does demand explanation, and that I will endeavour to give in outline, for the subject is naturally a large one. What I have above said about modern Panjâbi verse, I have substantially said elsewhere*, when treating another modern Panjâbi popular song, *viz.*, that the versification of the modern Panjâbi ballad is practically the same as that of our own Teutonic (German or English) ballads. Now, in order to explain the difference between this view and the orthodox one, I will premise that all modern Panjâbi verse, especially that of the common folk and the illiterate, follows the methods of the Adi Granth, that being *par excellence* the Panjâbi poem: though the Panjâbis are always careful to distinguish between what they call their vernacular and Gurmukhî (Gurû's tongue), or language of the Sikh Scriptures. This fact no one, I believe, is inclined

* *Indian Antiquary*. Folklore in the Panjâb, No. 14.

to dispute. What the methods of the Granth are, Dr. Trump in his translation has carefully explained, but confessedly not according to the present Panjâbi view thereof. Dr. Trump,* after explaining that *old Hinduî* means the language of the Bhagats (15th century), *Hinduî* the language of Gurû Gobind Singh's time (1675—1708) and *Hindî*, the modern idiom, says—"there are two leading principles in Hinduî poetry, viz., the verses are measured by *quantity* only, i.e., by the number of *moras* (not by the number of syllables or feet), and they must rhyme together." The *mora* is the *mâtra*, or *kald*, a point of time known as a short syllable, and two *moras* make a long syllable. The verses consist of so many *moras* (not *syllables*), and according to the exigency of the metre, syllables may be made long or short for the nonce, or split up into their constituents to suit the verse, in order to insure the proper number of *moras*. Dr. Trump then goes on to say†, "another point which must be well-attended to is, that the pronunciation of Hinduî differs greatly in poetry from that usual in prose. In prose the consonants are more frequently mute, and so is always a final mute consonant containing a short *a*, but in scanning a verse no vowel is, as a rule, to be passed over." This system of scanning and of reading the poetry of the Granth leads him to explain the rhythm and pronunciation of two *dohâs* of Gurû Tegh Bahâdur thus—

Bala chutkio bandana pare kachû na hota upâi ‡
Kahu Nânaka "aba ota Hari gaja jiu hohu sahâi,"
Sangi sakhâ sabhi taji gae kôû na nibhyo sâtha
Kahu Nânaka, "iha bipata mai teka eka Raghu-nâtha."

I put it to any dweller in the Panjâb whether one word of the lines as above given would be intelligible to the average Panjâbis of the present day, or whether they would find any difficulty in reading or understanding them if given thus, as they were read to me by a bard—

Bal chutkyo, bandan pare,
Kuch na hot upâi :
Kaho Nânak "ab ôt Hari,
Gaj jiu ho sahâi."
Sang sakhâ sabh taj gae,
Koû na nibhyo sâth :
Kaho Nânak, "eh bipat mai,
Tek ek Raghu-nâth"

I took the trouble to get Mirân Baksh and Ghunnâ, two of the regular singers at the "Darbâr Sâhib," or Golden Temple, at Amritsar, to sing and recite this and the *dohâs* following it, and

* Trump's *Adi Granth*, cxxvii & cxxix.

† *I bid*, cxxviii.
‡ *I bid*, cxxviii.

also with the originals before me songs about Kabîr (Kamîr as they called him), Nâmdev and Dhannâ out of the Granth, and I feel sure that the pronunciation I have given here is correct.

Now this brings me to the pith of my contention. Dr. Trump is probably quite right as to the intention and methods of the educated writers of the Granth when they composed their poetry, writing as they did mostly some 300 years ago in an idiom foreign to a great extent to the language current around them. Their aim seems to have been to follow the idiom of the Bhagats as nearly as possible, and in doing so they would naturally adopt the fine prosodial system of Kabîr and the other writers whom they took as their guides.* But, says Dr. Trump, "the Sikhs themselves seem now to have lost all knowledge of the metrical laws of the Granth, for I have never met a person who could give me the least clue to them, and the learned Brahmans disdain to read the Granth."† This is just my experience. The modern ballad singer, and to my knowledge at least one composer of popular ballads, knows nothing of *pauris* and *dohâs* and *chaupais* and *sloks*, and nothing whatever of the metres of the Granth. He pronounces his words in verse as in prose, and except that he allows himself a limitless license to twist any word as his fancy dictates, to suit his rhymes and rhythm, he makes no difference between verse and prose in this respect, and yet the poems of the Granth are without doubt his models.

The question then arises. If these bards do not follow the prosody of the Granth, on what system do they compose their verses? In my opinion the proper answer would be, on no system at all. Your illiterate poet listens to the songs from the Granth and the compositions of other bards, and in copying them is satisfied if his verses "run" and rhyme at the end. I feel convinced of this and quote the following from a song about the Firozpur District Canals, very popular there, and composed by a man quite ignorant of classical prosody of any kind. It is the work of a Musalman and can be bought in Firozpur city, written in the *Persian* character—

ہوے پندار و چ بھی کدھے باجہ شمار
پانی دیہہ زراعتان ہوی باغ بہار -
گردی گردی شہر دے باغان و چ پچہان
نہر پھیرے صاحب نے نال عقل دے تان -

* Dr. Trump's elucidation of the metres of the Granth shows that they are essentially those of the writings of the Hindu poets: See

Kellogg :—*Hindi Grammar*, Supplement on Prosody.

† *Adi Granth*, cxxviii.

These couplets I should be inclined to print in the Roman character as stanzas, thus—

Sue pindân vich bhî
Kaddhe bâjh shumâr :
Pânî deh zarâ'etân
Hoî bâgh bahâr.
Girdê girdê Shahr de
Bâghân vich pachhân ;
Nahir phere Sâhib ne
Nâl 'aql de tân.

Cuts too in the villages were dug beyond number :
Water being given to the fields, they became a spring-garden.
Round and round the city, they can be seen in the gardens :
The Sâhib with great acuteness made the canal to surround it.

Here the bard's ignorant rhyming has brought him close "to the comparatively harsh and inflexible system of English versification,"* as Mr. Kellogg says, though why he should call the Teutonic accentuated verse harsh, I do not know.

Now the writer of the above is to some extent an educated man, and his verse differs only in smoothness from those I will now quote.† These verses are also about the canals, and were taken down in the Persian character from the lips of a Sânsî ‡ paukha-cooly.

جٹے جٹان موگھے لائی لا اوتھے کانک تے گپاہ
پہاتھا جت تے جلاھا تانی تور گلون تولاہ

Jitthe Jattân moghe lai lâ,
Otthe kanak te kapâh :
Phâthâ Jatt, te Julâhâ
Tânê tor galon to lâh.

Where the Jatts bring canal-cuts,
There are wheat and cotton :
The Jatt applies himself, and the weaver,
Breaking his loom, gives it up.

In these songs the Persian character in which they were written precludes any tampering with final syllables, as would be necessary in order to fit them into classical prosody. Besides I have heard the composer of the former recite his own song and the Sânsî repeat his, and I know the words are as I have written them in the Roman character.

One more similar quotation and I have done. It is from a song

* *Hindî Grammar*, Prosody, § 3.

‡ One of the "criminal tribes"

† Both these songs are given at of the Panjâb; they are grossly length in *Panjâb Folklore*, Ind. Ant. ignorant.
No. 14.

of Dhannâ, current in the Panjâb, and popularly ascribed to Trilochan, or Tarloch, as he is now called. It is said to be in the *Adi Granth*, though it is not there. I have it in the Persian character and so give it as it came to me—

ہردے کم حوالے کر کے دھنا گھر نون آیا —
 اگون استری پچھن لاگی باہر کون بٹھایا —
 کہیتی دا کم کھرا ادگھرا کس بہروسے آیا —
 دادے اسا فال چنگی کیتی کا ما بہلے رلایا •

And transliterate it as I heard the bard sing it—

Har de kamm hawâle karke,
 Dhannâ ghar nûn âyâ :
 Aggon istri puchchhan lâgî—
 “Bâhar kon bithâyâ ?
 “Khêtî dâ kamm kharâ ogharâ,—
 “Kis bharose âyâ ? ”
 “Dâde asâ nâl changî kîtî
 “Kâmâ bhale ralâyâ.”

Giving over the work to Hari, Dhannâ went home :

Then his wife began to ask, ‘whom have you placed outside ?

“Field work is very difficult,—on whom do you depend ? ”

“The Brahman has been good to us and has given us a good servant.”

Now this is probably an old song and consists of stanzas of three, four and five verses, all rhyming together at the end, and is evidently capable of being treated as a poem composed in the Hindî *mâtrachhand* order of metres.

Thus—

Hārī dē kāmṃā hāwālē kārūkē |
 Dhānnā ghārē nū āyā ||
 Aggō īstrī pūchchhānā lāgī |
 Bāhārā kōṇā bīthāyā ||
 Khētī dē kāmṃā khārā ōghārā |
 Kīssē bhārōsē āyā ||
 Dādē āsā nāl chāngī kītī |
 Kāmā bhālē rālāyā ||

This gives us a stanza of lines of $16 + 12 = 28$ *moras* each with the cœsura, or harmonic pause, after the 16th *mora*. This is the Hindî metre known as the *Lalita* or *Haripāda chhand*.* In the *Lalita* metre the last two syllables of each line must be long

* Kellogg's Prosody, §54. This *Chhant* metre of the *Granth*, see metre corresponds somewhat with the Trump, p. cxxxv.

and such is the case throughout the song. I give another verse of it to show the metre better—

دھنا کھندا سڌو ناراین پر بل تیری مایا
جنہاں تون تون اپ وداوے کون بلاوے رایا -
پرمانند سادھہ کی سنگت دنہا دھن کھایا •

The Persian characters sufficiently show the modern pronunciation of the verse, so I will merely here show the metrical form of the words in the Roman character—

Dhānnā kāhāndā, "Sūnō Nārāyānā |
Prābālā tērē māyā ||
Jihā nū tū āpā wādāvē |
Kōnā būlāvē rāyā ||
Pārāmānāndā sādihū kī sāngātā |
Dhānnā dhānnā kābāyā ||

Dhannā said, 'listen Nārāyan, great is thy fascination !

"Whom thou thyself exaltest who would laugh at *?

Blessed is the companionship of the saint! Dhannā is called the fortunate !

Such no doubt was the metre and intention of the author, whoever he was, of this song of Dhannā, but the *sound* to the vulgar is that given in the quotation in Persian character, and the result must be obvious, that any illiterate poet imitating such a song would be guided entirely by ear and not by any rules of prosody. And I believe that the Panjābi poets of the people are so guided, just as without doubt the authors of many of our old English ballads and folk songs had to trust to their ear for the rhythm and rhyme of their compositions. The careful enumeration of syllables and the correct fall of accent and coesura observable in the polished writing of our great poets is merely the result of mental cultivation, not of essential variation of system, as I have above observed about the Panjābi songs of the Canal. None of these points are observable in the verses of the *bonā fide* peasant composer of country-folk's rhymes. Such a conclusion seems inevitable on comparing the following specimen of English folk rhymes with the subjoined stanza from Byron :

Mary laid her down to sleep,
Her thoughts on Sandy, far at sea,
When soft and slow a voice was heard :
"Mary, weep no more for me."†

* *Lit.* "call a king?"

page 113.

† Folklore Record, 1879, vol. II,

And then examine—

Each fainter trace that mem'ry holds
So darkly of departed years
In one broad glance the soul beholds
And all that was at once appears.*

Again, the rough uncouth metre of the following from the English counties seems to be the offspring of the same uncultivated ideas of music as produced the above-noted verses from the Sânsîs of the Panjâb, and I feel sure the same notions of rhythm guided the authors of both compositions. I should not be surprised to find, if any one were curious enough to try the feat, that the old English ballads could be made to scan to the *Mâtra-chhandas* of Hindû poetry, and to fit into one of their hundred and one forms, just as well as would an average village song from the Panjâb.

"Its for your sake, Sir James the Rose,
"That my poor heart's a-breaking :
"Cursed be the day I did thee betray
"Thou brave knight o' Buleighan"
Then up she rose and forth she goes,
And in that fatal hour
She bodily was borne away
And never was seen more :
But where she went was never kent,
And so to end the matter,
A traitor's end you may depend,
Can never be no better. †

Rhythm and rhyme are no happier in the above than in the following from the village Panjâbi : in fact, the musical capacity of the village poet does not seem to be sufficient to enable him to keep to his metre any better in England than in the Panjâb.

Vîga rūpaiya Sirkâr dâ ;
Ana Lambardâr dâ.
Jarmâna bhardî khâl dâ
Sâhib Jî lendâ chittî chândî ;
Sâhib Jî lendâ khârî chândî :
Pânî panj fut rahâ,
! ânî panj fut rahâ,
Suâ tutno rahâ, etc.

There is one point, however, which should not be overlooked when studying popular poetry in a country like the Panjâb. Usually, Muhammadans of any pretensions to education, writing in Urdu, attempt to base their poetry on the Persian (*i. e.*, the Arabic) metrical system, but do not apparently extend the practice to compositions in the vernacular. The Granth, which practically

* Hebrew Melodies : "When coldness wraps this suffering clay."

† Folklore Record, 1879, vol. II, page 116.

follows Kabîr and the Hindî Bhagats, is the basis of all the Panjâbi Sikh and Hindû poetry, and apparently also of all the Musalman vernacular poetry, or, in other words, of all Panjâbi versification. This is well illustrated by the Hîr o Rânjhâ of Wâris Shâh, the great Panjâbi erotic poem, known everywhere and to be purchased in any bazaar, lithographed in the Persian character. It is a pity it is not more studied, though perhaps its great difficulty has kept away students. Quotations will be made also from other popular poems to illustrate this point. Wâris Shâh was, most people say, an ignorant man, but it is much more likely that he was partially educated. His whole poem and it is very long, being 148 pages of Persian writing, is composed in the *Jhûlnâ Chhand*, thus—

احوال ہیر
مٹھی مٹھی ایہہ گل نہ کرو اربو -
میدان سن دیان آپن مرگڈی جینے -
تسان ایہہ جدوکنی چاگل کیتی -
کہلی تلی ہی مین لہرگڈی جینے *

This is always read and pronounced as follows :—

Ahwâl Hîr.

Muthî, muthî : eh gal na karo, ario ;
Maitân sun diân in mar gayî jene.
Tussân eh jadokanî chā gal kītī
Khālī talī hī main lhur gayî jene.

Hîr's Story.

I am deceived, deceived : oh, don't say this !
Hearing this I am become lifeless.
Since you have said this
Standing I sank down and was undone.

Now the Jhûlna Chhand should consist of 40 *mātras* to the *charan* or line, divided into cæsural pauses of 8, 12, 12 and 8 *mātras* respectively, and the metre, applied to the above verses, makes them run thus :—

Mūthī mūthī ēhē | gālā nā kārō ārīō |
Māitā sūnā diā ī | mārā gāyī jēnē ||
Tūsā ēhē jādō | kālī chā gālā kītī |
Khālī tālī hī mai lō | hārā gāyē jēnē ||

It should be borne in mind, however, that the pronunciation of the verse is not like this, but is that of the transliteration immediately before it. Such also is the case with verses quoted below from the Pûran Bhagat, another very popular poem of the Panjâb composed in the same metre, and of the erotic stanzas of the

Sassî Punnûn of Hâshim Shâh, which are of equal celebrity. Thus this from the Pûran Bhagat would be pronounced—

في پھیر کھیا - غصہ ہوے پورن -
تین فون وگ کی گڈی ہی بان مائے -
جدھی استری تون - آرہی باپ میرا -
تون تون شکم تھین جمیا - جان مائے *

Fe, pher kihâ, ghusse hoe Pûran,
Tain nûn wagg kî gayî hai bân, mae ?
Jidhî istrî tûn, oh hai bâp merâ,
Tûn ton shikam thîn jammyâ jân, mae ?
Pûran said again, being angry,
What demon possesses you, Mother ?
He whose wife you are is my father
Consider me as born from your body, Mother.*

It would be scanned thus—

Fē † pāhērā kīhā, | ghūssē hōē Pūrānā |
Tāi nū wāggī kī gāyī hai | bānā mae ||
Jidhī istrī tū | oh hai bāpā mērā |
Tū tō shikāmē thī jāmmīā | jānā mae ||

As in several cases in the metres of the Granth these two specimens of the Jhûlna Chhand do not tally,† as this has 44 *mâtras* to the *charan*, and is divided by cæsuras of 11, 11, 15 and 7 *mâtras* each.

The next quotation is from the Sassî Punnûn of Hâsbim Shâh, which is constructed in a metre of 28 *mâtras* to the line. Thus—

مان فراق - مہی دے مارے بیدار ارام نہ آوے -
ہردم وانگ یعقوب پغمبر دے روے حال ون - جاوے *

Mân, farâq Sassî de mâre,
Nînd ârâm na âve :
Hardam wâng Ya'qûb Paghambar
Roe roe hâl wan jâve.
His mother, on account of separation from Sassî,
Could not sleep or rest :
Every moment, like Jacob the Prophet,§
She was undone with weeping.

* The story of Pûran Bhagat is much that of Joseph and Potiphar's wife. Pûran's father had three wives ; one of his step-mothers fell in love with Pûran, and because he would not listen to her overtures she worried him into self-mutilation.

† The lines of this poem commence

with the letters of the Alphabet. There are poems like this in the Granth called *pati*, see Trump 602 - 605.

‡ See Trump, cxxx to cxxxii on the Tipadâ and Panjpadâ metres.

§ Like Jacob weeping for Joseph. Musalman Tradition.

The learned among the natives to whom I referred this verse called it the Chûlka Chhand, which is a *dohrâ* plus 4 *mâtras* i. e., it should run $6+4+3$, $6+4+1$, $+4=28$ *mâtras*. But, as a matter of fact, according to my judgment, it runs somewhat like the Hindî Ullâla Chhand, viz., $15+13 (=28)$ *mâtras* alternately to the *charan*, divided thus $(4 \times 3) + 3$, $6+4+3=28$.* It may perhaps represent the vague slok metre of the Granth.†

I would scan the verse thus—

Mānā | fārāq | ā sās | sī dē | māzē |
Ninādā ā | rāmā nā | āvē ||
Hārā | dāmā | wāng yā' | qūb pā | ghāmbār |
Rōē rōē | hālā wā | jāvē ||

If, however, the transliterated version of the pronunciation be read as would an English accentuated poem, it will be found to run very much like an ordinary English ballad—

Mān, farāq Sassī de mārē,
Nīnd ārām na āve :
Har dam, wāng Yaqūb Paghambar,
Ro ro hāl wanjāve.

And it should be remembered that this is the form of the pronunciation used by the readers. It is clear that the author of the Song of the Canal above quoted, in imitating such poems as these, would, when composing verses, follow only the popular pronunciation of them; he would be consequently, as he assured me he was, solely guided by his ear, or, to use his own expression, “by the turn of his mind.” This I believe is really the case with all the poetry of the village-folk. At any rate it would be pedantic, I think, to attempt to make them fit into any recognised system of prosody.

Since writing the above, I have purchased from the Lahore College a small book in the Gurmukhi character, called *Pingal Manjari*, or Treatise on Versification, by one Bihari Lal for one anna. I see it is published in 700 copies, and the author must be a scholar of the modern type, as on the cover of the book he has the date thus ੨੫-੨-੧੮੭੮ or 25-2-1878. The book is only so far a treatise on versification, as it contains specimens of various sorts of verse, but always without explanation of any kind. The number of *mâtras* is sometimes marked thus, त्रिभंगौ छन्द १० + ८ + ८ + ६ i. e., Tribhangî Chhand, $10+8+8+6$; this has a very suspicious look about it, as if our author had been studying Kellogg, or some English prosodial writer, and must be unintelligible to the village reader. However the point of it is, as regards our present argument, that it is purchased for one anna,

* Kellogg. Prosody, §53.

| † Trump, cxxxi.

postage inclusive, and so is within reach of every one; and what practically happens is this—the village poet goes to fairs and, perhaps, literally sits at the feet of some wandering singer of note, gets the rhythm of various kinds of metres into his head, and then, if sufficiently ambitious, studies some such sketchy work as the *Pingal Manjari* which really teaches him nothing. More often, however, he is content to stop at the fairs and the wandering bard.

Having so far explained my views and given my reasons for saying that I have in my rendering maintained the metre of the original of the “Song of Dani,” I will now say a few words regarding the metres of the songs of the Sultânis, or bards, who sing in honor of Sakhî Sarwar Sultân, as far as my present acquaintance with them will permit me to judge of them. Excepting one fragment all the songs about Sakhî Sarwar, despite the fragmentary nature of many of them, and despite the obviously incorrect form in which some of them have come to me, were I believe composed in the same metre and are, perhaps, all the work of the same author.

Described in the Hindu fashion, the songs are composed of lines of irregular length, rhyming together at the end and containing 1, 3, 4 or 5 (usually 3) cæsuras, or harmonic pauses. There is an internal subordinate rhyme at each pause except at the penultimate one. When the line has only one cæsura, there is no internal rhyme. The cæsuras occur at each 16th instant, but before the final pause there are only 12 instants. The rhymes are, as usual, double. The usual verse, then, would be technically described as consisting of verses of $(3 \times 16) + 12 = 60$ *mâtras*.

Described in the English fashion, the poems consist of stanzas of irregular length, containing 2, 4, 5 and 6 lines (usually 4) each. The final lines of two or more stanzas rhyme together, but not with the other lines of the stanzas themselves: all the lines of the stanzas rhyme with each other, except the penultimate one, which has no rhyme, and the final one, which rhymes as above described. When the stanzas consist of only two lines, then the second line rhymes as usual, but the first line is treated as if it were the penultimate line of the ordinary stanza. The lines are all of 8 syllables, except the final one, which is of 6. The rhymes are double. I describe the lines as of 8 and 6 *syllables* advisedly, as in polished English verse syllables *must* be counted, or the verse will degenerate into the mere popular doggerel above quoted.

As I believe the poet composed by ear and not according to any rules of prosody, I give these two descriptions as being equally applicable. In the original the length of the lines is not determined by the number of syllables, or, apparently, by the *moras*, or instants, but by sound, just as the stanza about Mary and Sandy,

already quoted, has, when counted, 7, 8, 8 and 7 syllables in its lines, though obviously meant to have 8 syllables to the line.

Pieces of prose are interspersed among the verses throughout the song as is often the case in similar poems and form an essential part of the song.

A good specimen of the metre is given at the head of this paper. The stanzas there quoted open the song in accordance with the usual custom, in praise of God. The verses now quoted, which are translated, "The monarch in his vengeful power," &c., show nearly all the peculiarities of the metre.

Nâmâ Chhîmbâ Bâdshâh pharyâ,
Mâran nûn oh bâhar turyâ,
—Dâná pâni si ohdâ laryâ,*
Gâo jawât : tân oh bachyâ,
Nabîn sî dard vich âyâ.
Dhanne Bhagat dî pāk kamât :
Mûi Nâme gâo jawât,
Poh mahîne mahân syâle
Sattar wârê nhâyâ ;
Bâdshâh de darwâze agge
Wachhâ chadd chunghâyâ.

A specimen of a six-line stanza is this :—

Tû sun, Zainu-'l-'âbdîn de Jâe,
Sikhân de ghar assî vyâhe,
Sikh sâware puttâr parâe,
Dâman terâ pharke âe !
Ethe dê jawâb khilôton !
Agge kon langhâyâ ?

I subjoin the metrical rendering to show more exactly what is meant by "maintaining the metre."

Zainu-'l-'Abdin's son, to reach thee
Have I journeyed and to preach thee :
Wedded to the Sikhs, I teach thee
Unto Sikhs. Help ! I beseech thee !
Thou art silent ! So to turn me
Now I know not whither !

In the original, as is often the case, the same rhyme is kept up at the end of each stanza throughout the poem, excepting in two stanzas in the middle. This rhyme turns on the past tense of the causal verbs in *ândâ*, as can be seen from the stanzas just quoted. It was, of course, impossible to maintain this in any English rendering, and license was therefore taken to rhyme only as many of the stanzas at a time as were found to go naturally together. It is clear from the two opening stanzas in Praise of God, which are separate from the poem and from the two isolated stanzas

* reversed form=*ralyâ*, remained.

occurring in the middle of it, rhyming in *âra*, that the stanzas are meant to rhyme two and two together, so the license is a warrantable one.

I have said that in one fragment this system of rhyme does not occur. I give it here for the curious to study, and own that it has fairly beaten me.

Jad Sarwar Kakkî de wâris de ghar giâ, tad ohne inkâr kitâ : karâmât nâl Kakkî bol utthî.

Wanân wakârân Pîr diân kahârân
Pîlân mang moton lân :
Poh Mâgh bâr lagâi,
Wan darakht mewa lagâyâ. *

When Sarwar went to the house of Kakkî's † owner, he refused her. Kakkî miraculously cried out—

In the forest the saint's bearers
Have asked me for the wild oak's ‡ fruit.
He (Sarwar) in the midst of winter made the jungle green
And made the wild oak to bring forth fruit.

In rendering the poem I have endeavoured to give the sense always, even when altering the wording of passages solely oriental to suit English ears and minds. Thus in the first stanzas "*Ik lakh kaî churâsî jûna*" (*lit.*, one lakh and some 84 lives = transmigrations,) has been translated "the past or passing or the coming hour." And again, "*Kutte chârma kare tayyârî*" is rendered by "each observance keeping." The double rhyme has greatly increased the difficulty of the translation and will, I hope, excuse some of the shortcomings visible in it.

Sakhî Sarwar's Miracles for Dâni.

And Sakhî Sarwar worked miracles for Dâni the Jatt woman.

Lord of all power, that hidest
All our sins, and aye abidest
True, that doest as Thou listest!
Who shall dare Thy power?
Thou, the Giver and the Taker,
Lord of every life and maker,
Be it in the past, or passing,
Or the coming hour.

Sarwar of the mountains cureth
Every ill that man endureth,
Be he childless, blind, or leper,
If he do but pray him :

* This metre might be described as (4×4) , $(4 \times 3) + 4 = 32$ *mâtras* to the *charan*, and may be an attempt at the Chauola Chhand which is (4×4) , $(4 \times 3) + 2 = 30$ *mâtras*. See Kellogg, Prosody, § 58.

† Kakkî was the name of Sarwar's mare. She is connected with several miracles.

‡ Pîlu = ban = wan = quercus arcana = wild oak. The fruit ripens about July, i. e., midsummer.

Where the castes were tribes dividing,
He that made one faith abiding,
As it was in the beginning,
And none dared gainsay him.

After twelve years, prayed to Sarwar
Childless Dâni weeping :
God gave a son, to be a holy
Preacher of the saint and lowly :
Called she then a saintly singer,
Each observance keeping.

Now, when the bard came, he sang songs to the glory of Sakhi Sarwar, and the news of it reached the husband of Dâni, working at his well. And he, being a follower of Gurû Nânak and a Sikh, went home quickly, and in his wrath he spake unto Dâni—

"Worship him no more," loud spake he,
Dâni's faith deriding.
Seized and threatened in her prison
Prayed she in her hiding,
"If, in thee my faith retaining,
"Aid for me is yet remaining,
"Listen, Saint to my complaining."
Sarwar heard, and dreaded Bhairûn *
Sent he for their chiding.

While the darkness yet was on them
Sprang forth Bhairûn dread upon them :
All that household, youth and elder,
To sore pain awaking :
Night passed, and ere day had broken
Each his fair excuse had spoken ;
Making ready for the journey
As the day was breaking.

Karmâ,† preparation making,
Dâni, her sweet firstborn taking,
Went together. Spake the household,
"Go to Sarwar holy."
Fond farewell and tender-hearted
Taking, from their home they parted :
To the City of the Gurû‡
Went as pilgrims lowly.

* Bhairûn = Bhairava : a form of Siva, the Destroyer, used in these songs for a dreadful creature in the employ of Sakhi Sarwar.

† Karmâ, probably for Dâni's husband : in another song Karmâ and Dharmâ are said to be her husband's elder and younger brothers. The names may, however, be historical. Dâni and her people were

Siddhu Jats. Sirdars Karam Singh (Karmâ) and Dharam Singh (Dharmâ) were the first Siddhus to become Sikhs and may be alluded to here. Wynyard's *Settlement Report of the Amballa District*, 1859, paras. 83—85.

‡ Jhandialâ, about 6 miles from Amritsar : a holy place of some sects of the Sikhs.

Who prays at Nigâhâ* hoary,
 These hath he, to Sarwar's glory,
 Kindly act and word well-spoken
 And sons twain for guerdon.
 Reached Mûltân the pilgrims, sounding
 Lordly drums, and songs resounding
 Sarwar's name and proudly bearing
 Sarwar's praise for burden.

At Mûltân Dâni perceived that their cloths and their other excellent things were very beautiful, and she said unto herself, "If I buy some things of these marvels and take them home and give to my maids, it will be a pleasure unto them. But what shall I do? I have but one and twenty gold pieces for an offering to Sakhî Sarwar and for the necessities of the way. I will contrive a plan. I will keep one-half of the twenty-one pieces that I have brought for an offering to Sakhî Sarwar, and with the other half I will buy me presents for my maids and for my kindred." She having therefore this evil intent, Sakhî Sarwar conceived her to be dishonourable.

Saintly wisdom who shall fathom?
 Who gauge saintly power?
 Whom the whole earth deemeth holy
 Ghauns Bahâu'ddîn † they lowly
 Worshipped, raising Sarwar's standard
 At the halting hour.
 Crossed at Siddhu Tirmu's ferry ; ‡
 At Wadorâ || made they merry
 Dhodâ || Saint, till Sarwar held them
 Of his faith the flower.

Now when Dâni had crossed over the river Tirmu, Sakhî Sarwar, to try her, sent unto her his minister, the dead Bhairûn, for he already knew that she, on account of her avarice, had become unfaithful, and had kept back half of her offering. And Bhairûn, taking upon him the form of a Brahman, went unto Dâni and begged an alms of her, but she, being vexed, said unto him, "I have been robbed all my journeying by the begging of such as you. Some of you forsooth call yourselves Brahmans and some Sayads, but I know not why so many Brahmans and Sayads should come unto this hungry land. I will not give

* Nigâhâ, near Dera Ghâzi Khân at the foot of the Sakhî Sarwar Pass through the Sulimâns, is Sarwar's shrine.

† Ghauns Bahâu'ddîn, most probably for Makhdûm Bahâu'lhaqq, a Mûltân saint of some celebrity; there is no Ghauns of the name of Bahâu'ddîn as far as I know.

‡ Siddhu : Siddh Râjâ dī in the song : most likely for Serât Siddhu near the Trimmu Ferry over the Satlaj.

|| Wadorâ or Vador, a village near Dera Ghâzi Khân, where there is a shrine to Dhond or Dhodâ, Sarwar's brother.

a single mite unto any of you." Then dread Bhairûn flattered and besought her much, but Dâni would not give, and pushed him away. Afterwards Sakhî Sarwar himself, putting on the form of a Sayad, went unto Dâni, and unto him, too, she made the like answer. Then Sakhî Sarwar, being wrathful at her evil conduct, slew her son, as it is told in the songs.

He that giveth alms believeth
What he asketh he receiveth
Of Dhond's mercy ; so they lavished
Alms at Dhodâ's tower.
Rânâ's Trees * where Kakkî leaping
Clove the rock †, long vigil keeping,
Saw they, and the while some slumbered,
Pondered some God's power.
In the night God sent Death's Angel
Forth at the sixth hour.

Seized of Death, who would be sleeping
Could not rest : his mother weeping
Coaxed her babe ; and for the keeping
Death away, she in her terror
Gave suck to the dying :
Lying in her arms, her first-born
Died where he was lying.
At morn, where the wells are springing
Bathed the pilgrims : there, too, singing,
In a place apart the dead babe
Bathed she, Death defying.

When Dâni saw that the child was dead, she dared not to make it known, because she thought within herself:—"If my husband and my other kindred hear of it, they will become very angry and will disgrace me, seeing that because of the joy of the birth of this child I came hither, and have journeyed thus far, bringing with me my husband and my kindred. And now the child is dead, and of a surety when my husband and my kindred hear the news thereof, they will become very angry at the trouble of the way being taken for nothing, and will conceive Sakhî Sarwar to be a liar, and, thinking me to be a very fool, will chastise me." Therefore Dâni told no one of the child's death, but, going into a corner apart, washed herself, and washed the child too for appearance sake and wrapped it up in her clothes. When she had finished washing, the priest of her household came unto her and said, "I have long been a servant in thy family. I have no cow, and my children have neither milk, nor curds, nor butter to their

* Rânâ's Bêris or Wild Plum Trees : † Kakkî, Sarwar's mare, is said to have cloven her way through the neighbourhood of Nigâhâ, said to have been planted by Rânâ, Sarwar's son and consequently sacred. Sulimâns by leaping through them for Sarwar.

food. I am in great straits, and I beg a cow of thee." Then answered Dâni, "When the desire of my heart is accomplished, I will surely grant thee not a cow only, but also a buffalo for a gift." Then said the Priest, "What desire can remain unto thee still? Wealth thou always hadst, and now Sakhî Sarwar hath granted thee the child of thy desire." But Dâni was silent, since she feared she might speak of the child's death.

Then Dâni went and prayed.—

Glorious dome, that standest ever
Worthy fruit of his endeavour
Who upraised thee,* that the faithful
Here might shame the scoffers.
Diamond speech and ruby treasure
Of his lore in jewelled measure
In the humble garb of trader
'Neath thee Sarwar offers.

When the most part of the night had passed, the people left the sanctuary and went unto their homes, but Dâni hid herself in a corner, and the attendant, thinking that no one was left in the sanctuary, shut the door and went his way. When Dâni perceived that the place was empty, and that the door was shut, she went up into the sanctuary, and sat down there and said :—

Dâni.—Conqueror of the mighty, Giver
Of fair sons, thy slave deliver
From her pain, that, seeking mercy,
Brings her first-born hither.
Zain-ul-âbdîn's son†, to reach thee
Have I journeyed and to preach thee :
Wedded to the Sikhs, I teach thee
Unto Sikhs. Help ! I beseech thee.
Thou art silent. So to turn me
Now I know not whither.

Sarwar.—Pain I cure, but who hath power
To restore the withered flower ?
Purity brings life, where evil
Mars not, good uprooting.

Dâni.—Hold, O saint ; thine is the power :
Thou didst cure the withered flower :
At thy word in coldest winter
Was the wild-oak fruiting. ‡

* The modern shrine of Nigâha was said to have been built by one 'Isâ a Delhi merchant of the time of Aurangzeb, and it was greatly improved by the Diwâns, Lakhpât Rai and Jaspat Rai, of Lahore, who flourished in Ahmad Shâh Durânî's time.

† This is the name of Sakhî Sarwar's father in all the accounts

and songs.

‡ The story goes that Sarwar made the *ban* tree (*Pîlâ* tree, *quercus arcana*) to fruit in January (*Poh*), its usual fruiting season being about July (*Hâr*). There is a song in which Kakkî asks the saint that the tree might fruit for the purpose of giving his followers food in the jungles.

Sarwar.—Nay : the forest folk, for saving
Of their lives, God's mercy craving
Prayed together, and God's answer
Was the oak bud's shooting.

Dânî —When the saints, their long fast breaking,
Ate the kids ; then, each part taking,
Thou wert lord, the broken making
Whole. But who gave life? * Thou giving
Each back to its mother.

Sarwar.—'Tis not true, but false, thy story :
'Tis not mine, but God's, the glory :
He gave life, when saints in concert
Prayed each for the other.

Dânî.—Being great, canst thou be lowly ?
Wouldst be evil that art holy ?
Help me, saint ! Oh why beguile me,
My fair hopes to smother ?

And moreover *Dânî* said, "When *Nâma* the dyer,† who was of low caste, perchance killed a cow with his bundle of clothes, he restored it to life, and God appeared unto *Dhannâ*, the Jatt,‡ from within the image. What ! Art thou not even such an one as these ?" Then spake *Sarwar*—

The monarch in his vengeful power
Sought of *Nâma*'s life the flower :
Nâm saved the cow, because his hour
Was not come ; death taketh only
At his hour the oldest.

Dhannâ's vision was his earning :
Nâm restored the cow by learning
God's will : he, times seventy bathing
When the year was coldest,
Bade the calf suck, for of courtiers
He, being strong, was boldest.§

And when he had said this, the saint sprinkled holy water over *Dânî*, and she thereafter, being insensible, neither saw nor

* The story is that when *Sarwar*'s followers had eaten the kids of the flock, *Sarwar* took all the bones and the skins and put them in a heap and restored them all to life by praying. This is one of the miracles he performed at *Mûltân*.

† *Nâma Chhimbâ* or *Nâmdev*—a Bhagat—said to have been the first Mahratti poet. He flourished about 1450 A. D. He is one of the writers of the *Adi Granth*, and his verses in it are probably the oldest

of that compilation.

‡ *Dhannâ*, one of the Bhagats, also mixed up with the *Adi Granth*, Nothing more seems to be known about him : he was a disciple of *Kabîr*.

§ I have two short songs, one in Panjabi about *Dhannâ*, and one in Hindi (? Mahratti) about *Nâma*, illustrative of the incidents here referred to. They are said to be contained in the *Adi Granth*, but I cannot find them there or any reference to them.

heard nor spake anything more. Then Sakhi Sarwar said the morning prayer and began to intercede for Dâni—

Then great Sarwar, pity feeling,
At the throne of God down kneeling,
Made prayer unto Him, who only
Can give gifts for praying.

And thus prayed he, " My good and my evil reputé is with Thee ;
if the child die, then will my reputé be evil, but if he live, then
will it become good"—

Came an angel swiftly bringing
Life from God : the child, upspringing,
With the new life to him given,
Like a child 'gan playing.

In the morning, when the attendant opened the door of the sanctuary, Dâni awoke from her swoon, and then, for fear he might ask her why she had remained all night in the sanctuary and had not gone out, she went out quietly by another door, for she knew that her child had become alive again. And when the attendant went into the sanctuary, he saw a child playing there, and, taking him up in his arms, he called out with a loud voice, " Whose child is this that was left in the sanctuary all night ? " Then Dâni, hearing his voice, came quickly and said :—" The child is mine." Then spake he :

Attendant.—Fool and mad, before I show him
Tell the marks by which you know him.

Dani.—Ring-pierced ears, zone silver-beaded,
Ear-rings that are golden.
Saint of Nigâh, * for thy mercy
How am I beholden !

Then the attendant gave the child unto her, since she had rightly explained the marks of the child.

Cried the people, " For the glory
Of the saint tell now thy story. "
Till at last made Dâni answer
By much asking driven.
" At great Rânâ's Trees G-d's Angel
Called my son to heaven :
For the shrine my offering leaving
Came I then to Sarwar grieving,
And to me my son in mercy
Hath good Sarwar given."

* Nigâh for Nigâbâ : in the text— wâlya, " the Saint of Nigâbâ.
Sarwar is here called " Pîr Nigâh-

ART. IV.—OUR JOINT FAMILY ORGANISATION.

THE relations between the rich and the poor have engaged the attention of men from the dawn of our social life. But from the Agrarian laws of Rome down to the Irish land bill, no European solution appears hitherto to have given full satisfaction even in the Western world; for none has yet stood the test of time, the only test which, despite the unrest of so-called liberalism, really proves that an institution is adapted to the society where it is introduced. It must doubtless have occurred to many, that the joint family organisations of India are one sort of solution of the problem in question. The Hindus, however, have been pronounced an unprogressive people; and, though their history is wanting, and no one knows when their civilization began, yet their institutions are assumed to be primitive, uninfluenced by experience or circumspection, and unadapted to any wants of the kind now being felt elsewhere in human society. A Hindu, I suppose, may be pardoned, if he thinks it odd that, while the progress of his ancestors in philosophy, literature and arts is eloquently applauded, all credit is coolly withheld from them for forethought, patience, perseverance or charity in respect of their social institutions. We are, however, now concerned with the results of those institutions, regarded as social experiments, rather than with the praise or gratitude of those who enjoy or criticise the fruits of unrecorded history. Although the history of the origin and development of joint family life is unknown, yet a slow and carefully directed evolution, rather than a haphazard and spontaneous growth, may be presumed from the fact that the Hindus of to-day look upon the five sons of Pandu and the four sons of Dasarath as model members of joint family society. And this partiality for the institution, coupled with its well-known vitality, will I think fairly entitle the system to be weighed in the same scale with more recent schemes intended to bridge the gulf between the rich and the poor. We have all read of St. Simonism, Fourierism, co-operation, peasant proprietorship and nationalisation of land. But I have not had the good fortune to meet with a close investigation of the capabilities of the joint family organisation, or of the conditions indispensable to its success.

I should, however, once for all abjure all claims on behalf of this institution to anything like faultlessness. On the contrary, I might have freely called it a failure, but that sober experience has taught me to suspend judgment and look in our ancient institutions

far more than is visible at first sight, rather than to echo the condemnation of those foreigners who cannot be expected to know much of our social affairs. On the other hand, the defective education of English-speaking Bengalis seems to me to disqualify them in a large measure, for a due appreciation of their own affairs and social barriers of a still graver kind shut out from them the domestic economy of those who are their only available models. However that may be, even the blemishes of the joint family system require, I think, a careful study, as much for the guidance of those who have to work out its future history, as for the information of those who feel concerned in our welfare, or at least in the great question of questions, the poor. If communism is a mistake, the experience of the Hindus in one form of the system should not, I venture to think, be passed over without being made to yield its lesson.

The joint family organisations of this country may be classed under two heads, which may be conveniently termed the Mitak'hara and the Bengal systems, and which represent perhaps successive stages in the history of one and the same institution. I am not a lawyer, and do not pretend to have studied the legal questions which appertain to the subject. I would not therefore presume to offer a synopsis of this branch of the Hindu Law, which is accessible to all in well-known treatises of unquestioned merit. It would, no doubt, be desirable to examine how far the recent case-law on the subject, has modified the original character of the Hindu Law; in what direction the changes have been moving, and how far they may be justified by considerations of public policy, the cause of progress, or the political condition of this country. But, in the absence of professional knowledge, I can only try to give expression to some ideas touching the social and moral bearings of the institution as suggested to me by my experience as a layman.

The essential principle of the organisation is that *all the incomes of the members shall be put into the same stock and then distributed according to the wants of each*. If there are three members—A, B, C, respectively contributing, say Rs. 500, Rs. 250 and nothing to the common stock, A shall not for that reason have any higher claims than B or C, as regards the quantity or quality of creature comforts in which the total Rs. 750 may be laid out. A cannot say that his wardrobe shall be twice as rich as B's, or that C shall go on foot, while A or A and B have the exclusive use of the carriage belonging to the family. (I ought to mention here that I am thinking of a state of things which was more widely prevalent some 25 years ago than now, and which even now is less uncommon in the mofussil than

in Calcutta). And the same principle seems to be observed in the rule or practice that, when, on the breaking up of the joint estate, A, B and C part from one another, they divide their common savings, not according to their several contributions, but according to their respective rights of inheritance as derived from a common ancestor. What I have said above may lead one to think that in the joint household C, at best, enjoys equal rights with A and B. But the truth is that sometimes C may actually consume more than the rest, while contributing to the common wealth nothing which possesses an exchange-value. If C happens to have half a dozen children, while A has none: or, to take a worse case, if B has a couple of wives, while A is content to remain a widower, every one of C's children would be entitled to as many and as valuable comforts as any of B's, and no one would grudge the second wife of B, any fineries which B's first wife, or C's wife, enjoyed, or which A's wife, if alive, would have enjoyed. Thus it seems that the joint family system fully upholds the communistic principle, so much at variance with the doctrines of exclusive property rights, that every member is bound to contribute his labor in the measure of his abilities, but is entitled to consume its fruits only in the measure of his needs.

A man's labour, as a rule, yields more than he can consume, and leaves in consequence a surplus which in fact is the nucleus of the world's capital. It is this surplus which is at once man's blessing and his curse. But for it we should have nothing to spare for those whom we love, pity or owe to; and not much to scramble for between man and man. Different men, however, regard this surplus with different feelings. If one says, "I shall keep it all to myself, or, if I be not allowed, I shall cease to work at all, and will make of myself a burden upon the rest of society," another may be found, as if actuated by the idea, "I have had enough to consume from what I have raised; the surplus I shall leave to those who best deserve it." But, taking people even so extreme as these, no one, I think, can venture to say that one or the other shall not be. It would probably be as unsound to condemn the excessive charity of the one, as it would be dangerous to maintain that the extreme selfishness of the other should be repressed by coercive measures. And it thus remains a moot question how far communism, or exclusive ownership of property, stands from the golden mean—the ideal system of property.

But the peculiarity of the joint family organisation consist in this, that the members interested in the commonwealth are actuated, not so much by a regard for their personal or material

advantages whether in the present or in the future, as by a natural or disciplined attachment for the blood tie and the moral bond of affection. And of these even the historical association underlying the blood tie has, it must be admitted, an ennobling effect upon the mind as compared with a bare communistic or industrial longing for the maximum of creature comforts at the minimum outlay of capital. In judging of the Hindu's attachment for his kinsmen and other relations, one has to bear in mind, not only the mutual assistance for the support of life and the charitable provision for widows, which are the normal conditions of joint families, but also the great strain which the system is capable of sustaining in times of trouble and affliction. Any one familiar with the Hindus' modes of thinking and feeling, will bear testimony to how intolerable he feels it in times of illness to have no better services than those of a hired nurse, or of the attendants of a hospital. I, for one, shall not easily forget the forlorn appearance of an English gentleman's sick chamber, who, by the way, was putting up with his brother at the time. Not that there was anything particular to be found fault with, but I only say that the loneliness was shocking to me. It may not be our good fortune to have a Sister Dora to worship in actual life. But it should be known that no small-pox patient is ever forsaken in a Hindu joint family, and that many of our widows—the unburnt Suttees of our own day—who count by the score, are diminutive Doras, each within her little world.

The provisions of the institution called Life or Fire Assurance are not quite intelligible to a Hindu. A man makes a periodical contribution, and gets insured a certain return, which may exceed or fall short of his actual contribution by a considerable amount. The probabilities of gain and loss are set off one against the other, but a Hindu often fails to perceive that there is always a balance left in favour of the assurer. The more adventurous soul of the European reckons the certainties of human providence against the uncertain "acts of God"; and subordinates his present privations, I allude to the regular pecuniary contributions, to the fund of mental elasticity secured thereby. But apart from these divergent claims of the present and of the future upon the individual assurer, the institution regulates also the apparently conflicting claims of different assurers, though these ulterior aims, viewed from a common and lofty stand-point, often fail to present themselves to the generality of people. If one assurer pays more than he, or his heir, eventually gets back, the surplus virtually goes to the pocket of another assurer or his heir, who may have become entitled to more than the actual

amount credited to his account ; the latter gaining in fact what the former loses. Some redistribution of this kind, of the funds contributed, is essential to the assurance system, in so far as it differs from that of ordinary banking. Most people, however, would perhaps regret, or at all events, shut their eyes to the truth, if they perceived it, though in reality it seems to be the greatest merit of the assurance system that what would be loss to one and gain to another from the banking point of view, are adjusted in that system exactly according to the superfluities, *i. e.*, the surplus contributions of one assurer and the necessities or deficiencies of the other. The assurance system ignores all equality between the contribution and the return. The former is lost or sunk equally by all assurers. But those who administer the affairs of the system know that its success depends upon an equality between the aggregate of what some assurers eventually lose, and that of what other assurers eventually gain. There must be a disregard for the capital sunk by the one section, in order to ensure what benefit the other section gains, and what both sections equally desire, from the system. There is thus a fund of disciplined charity in the assurance system which needs only to be duly recognised in order to grow into a living virtue. But this charity, even when missed in people's hearts, is not the less real on the part of all those who by their contributions practically render the most powerful support to the cause.

Even so in joint family life, people often overlook the charitable provision which the communistic principle of the system makes for the low and the inefficient. A vivid sense of kindness on the one hand, and of gratitude on the other, may often be absent, alike in the Assurance and joint family systems. But a feeling of kinship is certainly present in the latter, and I believe in a far larger measure than any kindred feeling (*e.g.*, *esprit de corps*), which so far, as I am aware, may be traced in the former.

It may be deemed hard that a man should go on contributing Rs. 500 in cash where he received back only Rs. 250 in comforts, and perhaps a lot of troubles in the bargain, from a number of idle drones. But I suppose the strict penalties attached to the assurance system are felt to be equally hard at times ; and the hedonistic question itself is virtually here in issue. The true recommendation of either institution is a charitable provision for *some* of its constituents : and the charity is a systematized and involuntary one in the one case, quite as much as it is in the other. After all it is true of every form of society that the interests of the community over-ride those of the individual ; and he who fails to keep his mind in accord with this condition, lacks an idea and a feeling, which are indispensable to the life of man as a moral and a social being. It does not matter much if a man has the hardihood to

say, "I don't care for society:" that would not make him the less a debtor to society: the forbearance shown to an undetected robber does not create privileges in favor of vice or crime. The surplus yield of a man's labor, howsoever disposed of by society, for its own interests, has necessarily the warranty of the producer's consent. And he may not seek to upset society by putting forth his own conflicting claims all of a sudden. What we really have to consider is,—to what extent the feeling of kinship, underlying the joint family system, may be fostered by training, and how far, being so fostered, the feeling may enable each man to work out the ends of the system; and how far the ends themselves may be desirable in the eyes of the best specimens of human kind. If A and B voluntarily part with their superfluities for the sake of C, and if B and C's shortcomings are due to defects which they cannot get over, defects, again, with which perhaps no one in the world but A and B would sympathise, we may, to say the least, spare our regrets for A's waste of energy till better days come to prevail on earth. There is no doubt that if a foolish jealousy—unfortunately but too common—should lead the most efficient individuals to seek from the entity—joint family—the same advantages which are derived by their less efficient brethren, in reality from themselves, but apparently from the institution, there is no doubt that in such a contingency the resources of the institution would be soon exhausted. No institution on earth could sustain the strain, if *all* its constituents should seek to derive from it the *utmost* advantages available from it under every recognised rule of equity. Some must forego a portion in order that certain others may partake of it, or the average cannot be realised in life. Men's miseries are undoubtedly mostly of their own making; but so long as people do not complain of those whose burdens they have to share, it is not for others to wake up a sleeping selfishness by raising the question of misapplied charity. It is hard indeed to lift man's struggle for existence above the category of that of the brute. And where justice is not sought for, upon grounds permissible in the recognised order of things, the so-called even-handed blessing may well be left to the aggregate of men's ungoverned selfishnesses struggling for mastery. Where joint families are the rule, the administrators of justice had better take care how a communism already established is unsettled by crude principles of political economy unknown and foreign to the people.

We have supposed the simplest case, to set forth the essential conditions of the joint family organisation. As we advance, however, in complexity, we shall find traces of difficulties which seem to be inevitable.

But these difficulties can be obviated neither by deliberate neglect

nor by hasty condemnation of the system. We must assume, for the sake of discussion at least, that the system is generally right, and that the difficulties occurring in it, impose upon subsequent experience the onerous responsibility of slow and tedious reformation, and not the impatient remedy of hasty and sweeping revolution. A, B, C have been supposed to derive their contributions from personal labor and to be attached to one another by blood relation and a domestic affection. We have, in fact, supposed the case of what in Hindu Law is contradistinguished as self-acquired from ancestral property. The communistic principle previously alluded to is present in both, though the tendency of the case-law, so far as I am aware, has been to show greater disfavor to that principle in the case of self-acquired than in that of ancestral property. But the tendency of the courts cannot be characterised as good or bad until the question of communism is fully solved. I for one am not in favor of communism; but I am loath to slight the wisdom of those who have up to the present moment supported that principle in this country by legislation and still more, by their conduct in life. If, besides, communism cannot be renounced in the case of ancestral property, it would become a serious question why the homogeneity between the two kinds of property should not be maintained. In regard to ancestral property there is a deal of difference between the Mitak'hara and the Bengal systems; the latter being in fact, less communistic in principle than the former. In the Mitak'hara system the son holds a coparcenary right with the father, whereas in Bengal the latter, but for his womanly tenderness, might disencumber his house of his grown-up sons and all their family.

I must notice here what seems to be a singular fact in this connexion. The modification of the communistic principle in Bengal took place long before the British Government took up the Dewanny functions of administering justice. Since then, it is well known, the process of change has been further advanced by recognition of the power of making testamentary provision for succession. But the way in which the people chose to exercise this power indicates, I think, the character of the nation, if not the inadaptability of the case-law, and afterwards the statute law, on the subject. Some of the wealthiest Bengalis sought to create perpetuities. Now I am quite aware that a perpetuity is only a source of future trouble. But there can be no doubt that those who wanted to create perpetuities were only anxious that, even the most inefficient of their successors should not be deprived of the benefit of the bequests. This anxiety involves, I think, the very same principle of communism which underlies the

Mitak'hara law regarding ancestral property, and which was modified in Bengal by the *Dáyabhág*, before the interference of British Government. In other words, we see here that, however some of our ancestors thought fit to reject the communistic principle of property, as between father and son, the people themselves, the moment they found an opening, returned to the Mitak'hara system, though in a modified form. And though the Hindu Wills Act seems to have satisfied the conscience of our legislature, it is nevertheless a question whether the popular feeling, thus withstood, has not, in consequence, been driving some at least of my countrymen to an evil of a far graver kind: I mean the immorality of creating fictitious endowments to idols, an immorality which is no less pernicious for the abuse of the people's own religion, since the worship in such cases is no better than nominal, than for the falsehood and disloyalty incidental to the way in which the law is set aside.

While noticing this revival of the Mitak'hara system in the shape of perpetuities and sham endowments, it may not be out of place to mention how the joint family system, dissolved by the force of external circumstances alone, re-appears in another, and to the Hindu a peculiarly ludicrous, form. The rule of partition, it should be remembered, is foreign to the communistic principle, as well as to the natural affection underlying the joint family system. British courts of justice, however, offer the fullest facilities for partition: the responsibility and consequent authority of the heads of families, and the loyalty of the subordinate members, requisite under the circumstances and for the entire fabric of our society, are completely ignored, and for no other reason than a more or less blind regard for the right of each individual to the full measure of the wealth he may have acquired or inherited. I call it blind regard, for its soundness turns entirely upon what doctrine of property is upheld. Be that as it may, as matters now stand, the joint family system finds very little external support, and is dissolved as soon as the more efficient members become oppressed by a sense of their own importance, or their personal material interests, otherwise called a duty to self. Not unoften the anomaly, to be noticed further on, in the position of the wife as a wife and as a member of the subordinate section of the family—*viz.*, the zenana—acts as a potent cause in the dissolution of the corporation. It is well known that this dissolution has no moral effect upon the society since the members, immediately after dissolution, begin to set up fresh organisations of the same kind. But this radical incongruity between the natural partialities of the people and a state of law which supports a contrary predilection becomes absolutely ludicrous to a Hindu when a brother

parting from brother for the sake of the wife, takes into the family the brothers of his wife. The fraternal relation is absolutely irrepresible. But the young man of the period prefers to transform the nucleus of the domestic organisation into a queen bee !

Let us now pass on to the question of ancestral property and the Mitak'hara system. Suppose that A, B and C, have three undefined shares in a property of this kind: B has two sons, C half a dozen, and A none at all. According to the Mitak'hara system the coparcenary right of the sons accrues from their very birth, but the shares of A, B and C being undefined, those of the sons must also bear the same character. So long as the sons are infants, they only serve to increase the expenses of the body. But after a time they render efficient help, and even repay their aged fathers with their savings. They then really join the community. But the law, by supposing a continuity of their right from the moment of birth, serves to impart to father and son a communistic relation in respect of ancestral property: a relation the same in kind as that formed between brothers who put their self-acquired property into a common stock and propose to live in joint family; thus in the present case we find the minor sons in much the same position as the inefficient drone C in the previous one; and that the common wealth is liable to be divided on occasion in unequal shares. The parallel, however, extends to the same process—namely, rule of partition—being available in both cases for dissolution of the society. —

So long as every member of a joint family contributes to the common fund in proportion to his actual abilities, any disproportion between production, or income, and consumption will pass unnoticed. But the moment one member falls short of the requisite quantity of labor, or contribution, or goes beyond some vaguely understood limit as to consumption, there is sown a seed of jealousy and discord between him and the rest. The trouble may arise in various ways. It may be, that the aggregate consumption swallows up the aggregate income so as really to cause distress or alarm. Again, some real blemish in character, as for instance, a want of honesty in the member objected to, is often a fruitful source of disquiet, and lastly, that member may have simply lost his former hold upon the affection and kindness of the rest in consequence of the historical association of the blood tie having become faint. Human powers are frail. All men have not the same capacity for labor and production: the tie of blood is loosened as we count from the common ancestor an increasing number of generations: children cause a great drain upon food supply, and, despite the best efforts of communism, both they and the food consumed by them are fathered upon their parents.

When people fail to make the two ends meet, the necessity for retrenchment is sure at times to overpower the kindest feelings. And the apprehension that this will soon be the case often leads the burdensome member to make up by fraud or concealment for what already he knows himself to have fallen short in. These drawbacks are simply inevitable. A modern corporation would perhaps seek to meet them by providing suitable penalties and watchful supervision. The necessary conditions would then be carefully defined: each member would be required to forego at times his personal feelings for the sake of the common cause and to keep a strict watch over his defaulting brethren, and an elaborate organisation and procedure would be framed for the purpose. The Hindu, however, appears to have set apart all such complex measures for the larger organisation of caste and to have perceived their unfitness for domestic society. He has accordingly made no more than the following provisions:—

In the first place, he defined the shares of individual members by a law of succession. In other words, he excluded some for the sake of the rest from enjoyment of the commonwealth. For instance, the daughter. He next seems to have found it necessary to provide for a breaking-up of the society. But whether from especial regard for the institution in the abstract, or by reason of long-acquired attachment to the form of society, he seems to have taken care that the broken fragments should resemble the original organisation. And, as a last step, it would seem the Hindu transformed the Mitak'hara into the Bengal system by a modification in respect of the son's succession. I am not concerned just now to establish a chronological relation between these several measures. But their logical filiation seems to be plain enough. The provision for partition has for its condition precedent a definition of shares, as involved in the law of succession. The material question, therefore, in this connexion is whether the joint family organisation ever could, or did, exist without a definition of shares; and, if so, how did the law of succession originate, and who were excluded thereby? I think some evidence may be laid hold of, leading to a bare presumption, at best, that a law of succession did exist even when no shares would seem to have been defined. But I would rather not lay much stress upon such evidence here. I would only maintain that a law of succession, defining the shares of respective heirs, is not indispensable to an organisation like the Mitak'hara system. On the contrary, I think it signifies a departure from the communistic principle. Moreover, succession might be determined simply by the rule of survivorship, the principle which applies to many corporate bodies even now. And if survivorship would account for the

known facts, I may be justified in assuming a later origin for a law of succession which again would be meaningless, unless it excluded some of the survivors from the community.

The Hindu law of succession comprises two elements : an order of succession and a definition of the shares of co-heirs. The order of succession establishes, indeed, the priority of sons over grandsons, and of grandsons over great-grandsons, and so forth. But the principle of survivorship appears to have been departed from, when it was provided that a grandson should represent his deceased father, as co-heir with his uncles, in respect of his grand-father's patrimony. A limit, however, is assigned in respect of the heirs of the great-grandson on the one hand, and of the great-grandfather on the other, beyond whom succession in this direct order does not go. The family communism under the Mitak'hara system was thus confined to three generations above, and three below the proprietor, or seven generations in all. That, therefore, may be understood as the maximum limit of Indian communism. It will be remembered that in the Mitak'hara system the son acquires his right to inherit from the time of his birth, so that he is at first a coparcener, and eventually a successor to the remainder of his father's ancestral property. The provision for the son's coparcenership was probably called for at a time when his ultimate succession by survivorship was a matter of course, and did not require any specific law. How the daughter was disposed of under this state of things, and what provision used then to be made for her husband and sons may well be left an open question. But it seems to be quite clear that the law of succession, though it did not altogether lose sight of the daughter and her family, was particularly cautious, lest they should invade the rights of the seven consecutive generations comprising the Hindu family community. The daughter and her sons were not to succeed until three consecutive generations below, and three such above the proprietor, all failed to be available for succession by survivorship. And the Mitak'hara system further provides that, if the proprietor left as survivors any undivided brothers, cousins or nephews, they should succeed in preference to the daughter ; this is called succession by survivorship. And this shows clearly, I think, that the daughter's succession was something like a last resort ; or in other words, that the authors of the law of succession, although not unconscious of the claims of the daughter were particularly anxious to exclude her and her family from any equal rights with sons, brothers, and other members of the joint family organisation.

The fact that the daughter was to become a member of a *different* family, somehow or other must have come into prominence when the principle of survivorship was supplemented by a special law of succession. And the communism of the family

appears to have been then defined and restricted in accordance with the altered state of things. An important branch of the tree was evidently lopped off for the nourishment of another; and it is natural to presume that that other was regarded as the main trunk. There was, however, an exception made: the branch in question was in a particular case not to be lopped off, and the daughter in that case was to succeed in preference to the brother. This exception was made for the case when the brother had been already living separate; and the provision clearly indicates that a law of partition had already come into use on some previous date. The order of events was probably this: the primitive principle of succession by right of survivorship preceded the son's coparcenary relations with his father. Next came the law of succession, the limitation of the family to seven generations, and the exclusion of the daughter, and daughter's sons from equal right as co-survivors with sons. At the third step we perhaps had the law of partition between brothers, and, lastly, the priority of daughters over brothers in the case of separated families. The principles of natural affection and communism would, upon this hypothesis, seem to have been successively upheld and rejected, showing that social difficulties, the same in kind with those which now exist, had occurred in the past and were met by a sober compromise in each case.

An attempt to define who shall be entitled to a right signifies that all but they shall be excluded from it. The definition of the son's coparcenary rights, therefore, must have signified some process of exclusion, just as the definition of his heritable rights evidently denoted the exclusion of the daughter.

Here again we may perceive, as I imagine, a link between communism as restricted to the seven generations of the family and as extending over a larger unit, as for instance, the *gotra* or the village. When a whole village community worked in common at tillage, there could be no great need for lotting out the lands to smaller groups like the family. The son's coparcenary right would in that case not need to be clearly defined. It would follow as a matter of course. But when for some reason the interests of the family community came to diverge from those of the village or *gotra* community—when for instance, the husband and children of the daughter, however intimate to the family, came to be regarded as strangers to the village community—then, perhaps, was set up a claim by the father himself for a separate plot of land for his son. And hence, it may be supposed, a clear definition of the son's coparcenary right was necessitated shortly after the exclusion of the daughter's family from the village community.

This, however, is remote from my subject here. What I have to notice is the pressure which must have been laid upon people's feelings when they were led virtually to disinherit the daughter for the sake of the son. Primitive people are generally credited with a more impulsive nature than their cultivated descendants. If, then, the impulse to disinherit the daughter was at any time felt with peculiar intensity in order to preserve the integrity of the family, or the interests of the village community, it must also have cost some minds at least as great a pain in carrying out the scheme to suppress natural affection for the sake of communal interests. That the Hindus were not disregarding of the sentimental elements in the organisation is clearly evident from the fact that the law of partition did not lead to a complete dissolution of the family organisation.

Allusion has already been made to an earlier connexion between the village system and the Mitak'hara family system. But, whether by reason of a process of natural evolution, or a still more conscious action, the fragments of the family organisation fully retained the old joint character, though they were considerably reduced in numeric strength. It might, indeed, be expected that when the joint family system was found intolerable, whether in the Mitak'hara or the Bengal system, the separated members would decide upon a new departure and give up the communism in all its phases. Those belonging to the Bengal system might accordingly be expected to break off the existing moral relation between father and grown-up sons, so that when the former died the latter should not be left together under the same roof, and thus led to start anew the same old joint society between brothers. So again, the separated members of a Mitak'hara family might fairly be expected to follow in the wake of the Bengal system. It would, I think, be too much to assume that such courses never occurred to the minds of those who managed their own affairs and had besides the same experience of the joint family system which we now possess. But that our ancestors preferred the communism seems to show, I think, that in their judgment its evils were counterbalanced by its benefits.

In order to understand the comparatively later provisions for partition and separation in joint families, we must first examine the position of the wife and the widow within the family organisation. The widow possesses only a heritable right both in the Mitak'hara and the Bengal systems; and in the former she is denied anything beyond a right to maintenance, unless her deceased husband happened to have separated from the community. In the Bengal system her interest is comparatively larger; nevertheless it is smaller than that of the son, and perhaps even

than that of the daughter. The widow's right to maintenance is, in fact, the minimum allowance imaginable under the circumstances, short of her absolute exclusion from, or her marriage with a surviving member of, the family. If now we look a step behind, and trace the history of the widow in the condition of the wife, we find, it is true, that the latter is entitled to her *stridhan*, but, that as a member of the family community, she has to be looked upon as being on equal footing only with other married women. Before a law of succession was defined, the husband had nothing definite to share with his wife, and unless the married women could be given coparcenary rights in the common property of the family, which was evidently out of the question, I do not see that they could possibly be allowed anything more than a bare maintenance.

It is necessary here to divest ourselves of much of the ideas associated with the Christian as opposed to the Hindu family. A joint family, necessarily divides itself either into two groups, one composed of men, and the other of women, or into a number of groups, each comprising, one man and his wife. View the units in the latter aspect, and you find a number of Christian families formed into a club which virtually takes away from the homogeneous character of the whole as *one* family. There is certainly a tendency at the present moment towards this result, but judging from experience I should say that it impairs the Hindu-family-feeling between the subordinate units so as to deprive the joint family system of its essential charm. We have, therefore, to look upon the members as two, and only two groups, a zenana and a body of male coparceners. And then the question arises, what is the relation between these two collective bodies. They must be either equal or unequal. And the Hindus appear at first to have decided to sink the woman into her husband, as if to disallow her a distinct and independent existence.

The question is, I think, the same in kind with what now agitates all Europe and America. What is the position of the woman? Is she only a member—a fraction—of the family, regarded as the unit of society, or is she a member of the much larger group—womankind, as contrasted with the opposite sex in their collective capacity? The individual is always subordinate to the community, and when two such communities as mankind and womankind have to assert any divergent interests, the members of each must ignore their domestic relations with those of the other.

When, therefore, the wife clings to womankind rather than to the family, she must either destroy the collective character of the family in order to set up that of womankind, or she must stand aloof in order to organise a community of unmarried women

distinct both from the family and womankind. The suppression of the softer sex, hard as it is said to be, is to a certain extent one of the necessary results of our social existence. Human society must be formed into a systematic whole and the component parts arranged into harmonious relations. Should the component parts, however, be left disconnected, their divergence and antagonism in respect of one another would inevitably develop in the course of time.

So in Hindu society, regard being had to the communal interests of the whole family, the interests of the wife and of the widow have been reduced to a minimum. I do not mean to defend the existing Hindu usages. I point only to the relations of the phenomena as I believe them to exist. It is of course a question whether the material interests of woman as an individual or as a member of womankind should or should not be subordinated, as they are subordinated, whether we look to the human race or only to our own joint family life. But once it is admitted that human society means an aggregate of families and not of individuals, or that the Hindu joint family comprises two groups—*viz.*, a coparcenary body of males and a *zenana*,—the claims of family necessarily become merged into those of the whole human race, in the one case, and the claims of the *zenana* become merged into the interests of the joint family in the other, the claims of womankind and its units, individual women, being thus reduced to secondary importance in comparison. It is also a further question whether or not a family composed of a single couple should form the unit of society without any intermediate grouping of several such families into a joint family of brothers or kinsmen, or, a community of co-operatives, or socialists. But so long as this last named question remains undetermined, the priority assigned to the common interests of the joint family necessarily reduces the partial interests of the wife and the widow to a minimum.

The wife, therefore, has her *stridhan* and her maintenance, besides what she may obtain in common with her sister members from the dominant section of male coparceners in the joint family corporation. And the widow's maintenance thus partakes of the nature of a right by survivorship. As a wife she got her maintenance, and maintenance she gets when she survives her husband. But when her husband happens to have parted from the rest and to form the sole male member of the family, she obtains a priority over her husband's kinsmen because there *she* is the sole survivor of the family such as it is. And as widow marriages were not allowed, her portion did not exceed what is called her life-interest.

The wife's *stridhan* brings us back to the question of the daughter's rights, as contrasted with her mother's. As a member of the joint family, the wife or the widow is differentiated from the male members for reasons we have already discussed. But it is not only the case that she has no coparcenary relations with the male section, she has none such even with her sister members of the zenana. The zenana is not a corporate body. If, therefore, the wife or the widow happens to have any property distinct from the rest, it cannot be as joint owner with the male or female members of the family. And if a wife and widow may have separate property, the daughter would be allowed to have it likewise. Woman therefore is allowed to have what is called her *stridhan* in Hindu Law. In the case of a Christian family such rights would perhaps be fatal to the common interests of the husband and the wife in their collective capacity. But in the larger organisation of the joint family, *stridhan* is a matter of comparative insignificance. In a Christian family, the wife has the right to have her debts paid by her husband, and the conjugal relation carries with it a particular form of partnership. In the Hindu family the coparcenary relation between brother and brother, or father and son, is never extended to husband and wife.

It has been to me an important though unsettled question whether, before the law of succession came to be definitely settled, the daughter and her family did not continue to be members of the parent family and also of the parent village. But I do not think it would tax our ingenuity much to suppose that, when the daughter came to be married into another family, she could not be deprived of what personalities she had previously acquired.

Thus we find that a joint family differentiates into a body of male members and a zenana, the latter being devoid of any corporate character. The fact further signifies that woman necessarily holds a subordinate position, and that the wife is regarded less as her husband's partner than as one of the zenana. In this way the wife and the widow are supposed to have become entitled to no more than maintenance from the family, but at the same time to hold separate property. The daughter, too, has her *stridhan*, though she is at first deprived of all further rights in the family property. By and by, however, the face of affairs is changed, and, the husband being allowed the right of partition, the widow's and the daughter's right of succession is naturally developed. The strain upon the father's feelings, owing to the exclusion of the daughter from inheritance, thus appears ultimately to snap the communal tie, so that the daughter and the widow at last obtain a priority over the divided survivors of the family.

Possibly, if the suppression of the sex could be enforced

with still greater persistence, the claims of the widow and the daughter would have been overlooked even when the man came to feel less affection for his brothers and cousins than for his wife and daughter. Possibly in such a case, the principle of communism might be upheld with rigorous strictness. But the Hindus have not followed up their communistic scheme in this manner. The material tie of property-relations, though strongly supported, has not always had from them a prior regard over the moral bond of conjugal and paternal affection. It is, however, a fact that, so long as the joint family remains undivided, the conjugal relation has to be subordinated to the communal relation. Nevertheless, I think, it is creditable to the Hindu that this communal relation is enlivened by paternal, fraternal and filial affection. And this is carried to such an extent, that conjugal affection can hardly find any thing but a subordinate place in the heart of the Hindu man. But the anomaly recurs in another shape when the father and the brother regard the daughter, and the sister respectively as strangers, whereas the mother and the daughter are found at times to cling to one another with greater fondness than the former does towards her son or husband, and the latter toward her father or her husband's family. The anomaly is, of course, due to the truth, not generally recognised, that a moral tie, however overpowered for the time by conflicting claims of a material kind, is sure to recur again and again in the long run until at last it is brought into harmony with all our intellectual and social conditions.

We find this curiously instanced in the modification effected by the Bengal system over that of Mitak'hara families. In the latter, we know there is a coparcenary relation between father and son in addition to one of inheritance. The latter accrues after the father's death, but the former may be enforced even during his lifetime. We thus find the moral relation between father and son supplemented by their common self-regard for the ancestral property. The father and the son, even apart from their natural affection, would feel interested in preserving their communal relations, since otherwise consumption might be increased to the detriment of the surplus accumulations. I am inclined to think that this abnormal divergence from the conditions of natural affection may have had something to do with some joint claims of the father and son upon the village community. But whatever the past history of the fact may have been, we can see in the society around us that the father and the son do not lose their moral hold upon one another in the Bengal system, because their coparcenary relation has ceased to exist. Thus also, we see that a community of interests, however serviceable in

evoking mutual assistance in the absence of a moral tie, may be safely dispensed with where the moral tie has been established upon a sound basis. Indeed, for all the changes now in progress towards the disruption of the Hindu family, and for all young Bengal's desire to part from penniless brothers and antiquated fathers, I have not yet met with any specimen of this brave fraternity who was prepared to part for good with his own grown-up sons and daughters-in-law.

Turning now to the results of the communal system in this country, I do not think there can be any question that it has had the great merit of securing for the infirm and the inefficient, the assistance of their kinsmen : and that this end is attained without degrading the former into beggarly relations with the latter. I shall dwell upon this point a little further on. Meantime, however, we see that woman's position in the joint family has remained very anomalous. As subordinate to a group of men, she has received what, in spite of current opinion, I shall venture to call a valuable moral discipline. But her feelings in respect of her husband, son, daughter, father, brother, father-in-law and mother-in-law, are subjected to such diverse action, that her character has become liable to many unexpected variations. Whenever a screw get loose in our domestic machinery, any of these feelings may get the uppermost in her mind. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the husband suffers seriously by having to subordinate his moral relations with his wife to his material relations with the rest of the male members of the family community. Nothing, I think, so clearly establishes the superiority of the Hindu woman to the Hindu man as the fact that, whereas the former has already proved herself equal to the martyrdom of the suttee, and still repels, as ludicrously ignoble, a learned pundit's idea of widow re-marriage, the Hindu man is hardly conscious of his moral degradation when, as a widower, he hastens his re-marriage upon considerations of the maximum age of marriage prescribed for girls in our society.

It is possible, however, that, with the spread of sounder ideas, the moral superiority of the woman will be recognised without interfering with her subordination in temporal concerns. But the greatest drawback of our communal system, I think, lies in the interested relations between the male members of the family. And I do not see how the affectionate regard still prevailing between the members for one another can be purified from the natural effects of their common self-regard in their common inheritance. It is unfortunately but too true that self-interest is, after all, but of doubtful strength as a bond of union. But on the other hand, we know that a benevolent regard for others' interests is feebler and

less common still. There is reason therefore, I fear, to apprehend coming evils.

The indirect influence of Christianity in this country has of late largely tended to reverse the mutual bearings of the communal and fraternal tie on the one side, and the conjugal bond on the other. This is slowly working a revolution in our society which the British public is hardly aware of. It is, however, the same in kind as that which sets the son against the father in asserting his individuality in utter defiance of communal claims and filial duty. The Protestant notions of liberty of conscience may have blinded Englishmen to the pernicious consequences of the revolution in the phasis last alluded to. But in this respect the Hindu discipline of ages will, I hope, survive the present outbreak. For, after all, the son, disposed in his youth to assert his liberty of private judgment as against the father, generally outlives his Millite proclivities, to appreciate, in advanced years, the value of social and domestic discipline in dealing with his own children. The other phasis of the revolution, however, the struggle between conjugal and fraternal relations, is a matter of far greater uncertainty. And I think it behoves all who can afford it, to turn their attention to the subject in order to point out how the ends of a communism so long established may be satisfied consistently with relieving the existing strain upon the conjugal relation of the Hindu.

While upon this point it may not be out of place to mention in some detail, how the moral relations of the joint family with all its advantages, are strained in order to maintain the communal integrity of the family. Firstly, as between the male members, whether cousins, brothers, father, son, or uncle and nephew, the communal relation requires a system of government in which natural affection, *i. e.*, the moral element, being mixed up with, or being perhaps deficient in comparison to, the property-relations, domestic order has to be maintained by a politic management which I am afraid would be revolting to the outspoken candor of all genuine affection. This vitiates not only the relation between comparatively remote kinsmen, but also between father and son, and husband and wife. The fact will, I believe, be brought home better when I say that the Hindu who has obtained even a smattering of English education, misses the soothing and the benign influences of the Christian home, influences which, in fact, the Hindu appears to appreciate, as if from instinct, and even perhaps to exaggerate for want of experience. Our domestic affections arising from joint family life are spread over a larger number than in the largest Christian family. But in some cases, at least, it must, I fear, be admitted that the intensity of our affection bears an inverse relation to its extension.

Whatever the truth may be about the true character of our domestic affection, the governmental relations required by reason of the numeric pressure of our family, tax our ingenuity and energies in a deplorable manner. I would venture to assert that our mutual dealings at the seat of all our best virtues—the home—often partake of the nature of a vile diplomacy, which Europe begins to resent even in international affairs.

Then, the number of women who have to be kept together in the same family renders, I think, a zenana system more or less indispensable to us. I do not know how they manage it in the Madras, and especially in the Bombay Presidency. But when Englishmen criticise this institution, they only disclose their ignorance by overlooking the fact that even within the family there are strict rules about the *parda*. It is sheer nonsense to say that the Mahomedan government is responsible for the *parda* system of the Hindus. Every Hindu knows that the son's wife is bound to keep under *parda* before her father-in-law. And the same rule prevails as between a man and his younger brother's wife. Mahomedans could never have brought about rules like these. The poorer classes, it is said, do not observe any rule of the *parda*; but I think a Hindu might observe its traces mixed up even with the immodesty of native street-walkers. And, in fact, I think, the rules are, after all, wholesome. Conceive for a moment the large number of distant (from a Christian point of view) relations who are thrown together in a Hindu joint family in the seclusion of a private dwelling-house, and it would at once occur to any reasonable man that the men and women should not be too free in visiting one another. A zenana apartment of the family being thus necessitated, it is the exceptions to, and not the observance of, the *parda* which have to be accounted for. And this becomes intelligible enough when we notice the rule that those who have met each other as boys or girls, are freed from the *parda* restriction. The *parda* being requisite within the domestic circle, it is naturally retained, when people can afford it, in respect of outsiders. A woman who is unaccustomed to look her father-in-law or her husband's elder brother in the face, cannot be expected to do so with any friend of the husband, or the father-in-law, or to go out into the public streets where these relations of hers may at any time be met with.

But, inevitable as the *parda* seems to be, it is not the less objectionable on many accounts, and the worst of the evil redounds upon the male members of the family for whose sake, it is supposed, the *parda* is required. The secluded life of our women fills them with such an amount of inexperience and incapacity for business, that their assistance can never be fairly utilised in

administering the affairs of the family. And the result is that where they do not understand and appreciate the objects of the male members, they set up a passive resistance which has an injurious effect as much upon our material as our moral concerns in every-day life.

While dwelling upon the natural relation, as cause and effect, between the joint family system and zenana seclusion, I should not be understood to assert that the opinion is held in common by myself with my countrymen. What has been said above is at best but a supposition, and it should not be taken for more than it is worth. In the same way I am inclined to suppose that there is some sort of natural connexion between the zenana life of our women and the prevailing custom of infant marriages of girls. I believe if all other obstacles to the abolition of these marriages were removed, the necessity would still exist for training up a girl in the ways, not of the husband of her own choosing, but in those of a body of grown-up women with whom she has to associate, with all their virtues and foibles, their ignorance, prejudices and partialities. And this I think would naturally lead people to take her in only before she became too old to accommodate herself to other peoples' ways. The mother-in-law, as members of Christian families know to their cost, is not the most agreeable companion for a young woman to live with. But by the Hindu bride she has to be looked upon more as an adoptive mother than as a mother-in-law in the English sense of the term. And I should think (subject of course to every correction) that this has had no small share in bringing down the age of marriage of Hindu girls to the low maximum of ten years prescribed in our *shastras*.

My readers might look upon these observations as a justification for zenana seclusion and infant marriage. But I should consider myself hardly dealt with if such were the case. Every social custom is traceable to some co-existing or pre-existing facts, as its natural antecedents or concomitants. And every natural cause is in one sense a justification of its effects. But I do not think such justification carries with it any ethical weight. On the contrary, a right apprehension of the facts should enable us to make ampler provision for what changes may be requisite. Whatever blemishes the joint family system may have, a fuller appreciation of its merits should not be regarded as a justification for those blemishes, but should only persuade us to defer all changes till adequate provision was made for the purpose. Bearing this in mind, I would solicit attention to the following economic bearings of the question :

The chief merits of the institution, are, I think, two, and these

would probably resolve themselves into three. In the first place, the system has had such a long standing in this country, and has in consequence been so adapted to our character, that any change unless clearly proved to be decidedly for the better, must be deprecated merely as tending to distrust established order. In the next place we have to consider carefully the effects it has had upon the general question of pauperism, and the relation between the rich and the poor.

The first thing that occurs to me in this last connexion is the help which the joint family organisation extends to widows. I am one of those whose Hindu predilections accord more with the doctrines of M. Comte as regards eternal widowhood, than with the views of revolutionists who seem to hold that the highest pinnacle of social progress, so far as conjugal fidelity is concerned, has been attained in the temporary marriages of the Burmese and the Motai marriages of the Mahomedans.

I hold that the austerities of our widows have a most ennobling effect upon the minds of our wives and daughters. And I should be loath to part with this high moral influence in order to set up a house where the blooming bride would, in the assertion of her woman's rights, first of all drive out the antiquated widow. I do not know if the educational authorities of the day who have charge of girls' or ladies' schools, ever stoop to think of these matters. But if they do not, I for one cannot say that they discharge their onerous, and in some cases, well-paid duties with any approach to average perfection. The Mosaic commandment, honor thy father and mother, must be supplemented, in the case of our girls' education by, honor thy father-in-law and thy mother-in-law.

Passing next to the wider and far more difficult question of the relations between the rich and poor in general, I have to combat a widely prevalent opinion that the growing civilisation of a people is indicated by a rise in their average expensiveness or standard of living. That a man's consumption is an index to his capacity for production I freely admit. But when increased efficiency leads, under the operation of the stern laws of natural selection, to extermination of the comparatively unproductive members of the race, I cannot contemplate the change with unmixed delight. Besides, I am not quite sure that the strength of numbers is in no degree a match for physical might and inventive skill. The average Chinaman is by no means a match for the average European in physique or soldierly qualities. But I am not sure that the Chinese nation ought to be supplanted by the European nations in the way that the Peruvians and Mexicans have been, or that the consequent increase of the world's resources would be a decided gain. And I cannot therefore persuade myself

to think that the Chinese standard of living would be improved by being raised so as to lead to an equal competition between the Chinaman on the one hand, and the Australian, the Californian, or even the Lancashireman on the other. I do not consent to look upon the human race as a litter of puppies which civilised people are said to improve by a certain process of scientific selection.

With these unfashionable opinions, I confess I do not feel quite unconcerned to think of the relations which exist between our joint family life and cheap living, and to watch the current tendencies in this country to raise our standard of living and breakdown the Bengal and the Mitak'hara systems of joint family organisation which certainly serve to keep down our scale of expenses. I do not mean any disrespect to the august judicial and executive authorities of the country both in and out of India. But I do doubt very much if in their zeal to raise the condition of two hundred millions of Her Majesty's subjects, and in their anxious regard for an efficient famine administration of the country, they do not at times forget that the question of communism is a moot point of controversy on the continent of Europe, and that the individualisation of property on the one hand, and the levelling down, on the other, of extensive landed rights upon communistic principles, do in some measure trench upon grave questions which very materially affect our well-being in the distant future.

However this may be, I think, it is an important point to consider whether in the West, civilisation and its supposed best criterion, accumulation of capital, have not hitherto tended to widen the gulf between the rich and the poor. Wealth represents, indeed, the savings of past generations. And all attempts to wrest it, for the sake of the poor, from those who have lawfully come by it, however sanctioned by a majority suppressing the minority, are sure to be counteracted in the long run by retribution of a still more aggravated kind. A nationalisation of the land or expropriation of the aristocracy in Europe, or a [Hectoring* of the Permanent Settlement in Bengal, would, after all, denote only a social revolution which no parliamentary disregard for jurisprudence could wipe out of the minds of the sufferers. But for all the awful mistake of the communist, the mistake, namely, of thinking that a revolution once effected, or a proscription once made, will preclude all chances of a counter-revolution and a second proscription, there is a fund of truth in the opinion that the tyranny of capital can be borne only within certain limits. If, indeed,

* I must crave indulgence for venturing to coin a word like Boycotting, Barking, &c. I allude to Mr. Hector's refined scheme, as set forth in the papers, of buying up the Bengal

Zamindar's rights at so many years' purchase, payable in as many annual instalments, by allowing him to be in possession and enjoyment of his profits for the same period.

it is folly to bind up capital for the sake of endless accumulations, it is equally dangerous to help forward such display of capital as serves to rouse too much the envy of those who, though inefficient or improvident, hold in their hands the most significant power of all, the strength of numbers. However England may have weathered the storm till now, he must be a bold man who would say that no danger exists of the plutocrats of the British Parliament being some day swept off by a sudden blast.

How then does the question stand with us in India? How does the joint family system dispose of the poor and the rich, and how does it affect their average standard of living?

Let us take a family of three brothers, having a monthly income of Rs. 60 in the aggregate, or of Rs. 30, Rs. 20, and Rs. 10, respectively. Let us suppose also that out of this average income of Rs. 20, they consume Rs. 15, and effect a saving of Rs. 5 each, on the average. I think that in the existing condition of the country they would marry, have children, and pass as a respectable family in their own sphere.

If, however, the joint family system did not exist in this country, I think that the circumstances of these three people would be affected in the following ways:—There would be a change first of all by reason of expenditure being regulated by actual income of each individual. This would positively raise the standard of living in the case of the most efficient persons, *e. g.*, people like A, and perhaps also B. With men like C, this circumstance taken by itself might cause a decline. But men's expenses are regulated not only by their incomes but also by the average, or perhaps, the maximum standard of living prevailing around them. Thus, C's expenses, however reduced by reason of his diminished resources, would be likely to rise in some measure, because those of A and B (viewed not as C's brothers, but simply as his fellow-citizens) had increased. And then the notorious improvidence of poverty is a third source of disturbance.

Thus, if the man with an income of Rs. 30 raised his expenses to Rs. 22, *i. e.*, some Rs. 7 over the average in the former case,—and this he could well afford to do, since it would still leave him a saving of Rs. 8 against Rs. 5 of old; supposing that he did all this, I should think that the other two brothers would raise their standards of living, without heeding how they reduced their respective savings from the old standard. It is impossible in the absence of statistics, to represent these ideas correctly by figures, and yet I do not know how else to express them—

	<i>Separate Families.</i>						<i>Average of the Joint Family Estate.</i>		
	A.		B.		C.				
Income	30	Rs.	20	Rs.	10	Rs.	20 Rs.
Expenditure	22	"	18	"	10	"	15 "
Saving	8	"	2	"	0	"	5 "

The foregoing illustration is intended to show, that, although the aggregate income is the same in both cases, and there is a rise admitted in A and B's standards of living, the aggregate expenditure in the one case exceeds the other by 5 Rs., and that, for an increase in one man's saving by 3 Rs., there is an equal reduction in another's, while the third is doomed to live only from hand to mouth.

I may be mistaken, but it is my impression that C, in disregarding the importance of making a saving, as suggested in the illustration, would be actuated not only by the smallness of his income but by another potent source of improvidence: assuming that he could marry if he had been living in joint family with his brothers, I have supposed that he would be debarred from doing so when he had barely enough to live from hand to mouth. And even then, if he might have saved, say one rupee, without a wife to support, he would not mind, I fear, spending the odd rupee on luxuries, which perhaps B could not afford, but A might.

If I am not wholly wrong in setting forth the above example, I think we may count upon the following results of the change alluded to:—1. C cannot marry or have children. 2. A slight addition of expenditure or reduction of income in bad times would drive him to beggary and deprive society of the benefit of his labor. Possibly, also, C living already at "starvation point," would die before he could figure in the mortuary returns of a famine. C's income on the other hand, might be raised by reason of A having withdrawn his help. But we have assumed the aggregate income to be the same in both cases, and the general fact we are dealing with is that he lives from hand to mouth, and spends even his last rupee, because he has not a wife to think for. 3. B's condition in all these matters would be only one step removed from C's. 4. But the greatest evil shown in the illustration is, I think, the disproportion between A, B and C's savings, and also between their respective savings and standards of living. In place of a family of three brothers in equal circumstances, we find two families and a single man ranged according to their savings, in such widely different ranks as are represented by the figures 8, 2 and 0. The institution of caste in this country serves in some measure to distribute the poor people into distinct groups, and the joint family system further distributes the individuals of each group, so as to throw some of them upon the charity of their nearest relations. Thus not only are the poor provided for in some crude way, but the disciplined charity of the leaders of each family prevents the gulf between the rich and the poor being too wide to be borne by the community at large. At the same time the communistic principle involved does not operate to the detriment of

industry and acquisition of property. Capital, it is true, fails to be accumulated as largely as in European countries, and much less so than in England where primogeniture and the law of entail prevails. But that is the source of the greatest anxiety in that part of the world. Furthermore the moral relation between the members of a joint family lifts them far above the cold and mercenary relations of a life in clubs and chummeries. Lastly, the caste system, however objectionable as supporting a social inequality between different castes, has this recommendation, at least, that, owing to it, the disparity between the richer and poorer sections, as noticeable in each caste, is not so great as what exists between the richest and poorest of all the castes combined; and hence, the barrier of caste prevents the jealousy that would occur between the two classes if caste did not exist. The horrors of a French revolution could not, I should think, occur in a society like that of the Hindus—to say nothing of the brutalities of the Communists and Nihilists of Europe whose history is yet to be.

In conclusion, I would point to what I think is an important matter of detail. Even granting that the joint family system is fit to be destroyed, the question arises whether any middle course is possible between it and the family system of Christians, comprising only unmarried daughters and infant children, besides man and wife. If father and son have to live together, which I take is indispensable to our character, provision must be made for the joint living of mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, and also for that of brothers and their respective wives. It has yet to be proved that to throw out the adult son, and to send forth brothers into opposite corners of the globe, coupled with the dangers of pauperisation already alluded to, are less than an equivalent loss as compared with the evils of the zenana system, infant marriages, and the fostering of idleness peculiar to Hindu joint family life.

Besides, although it may be desirable enough that the inferior members of a joint family should not continue to be a burden upon those who earn most, yet it is a serious question if the character of the nation would not suffer materially, by the earning members being persuaded to cast out the drones of the family merely from an increased self-regard for their personal comforts.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

ART. V.—THE POETRY OF DEROZIO.

“THOSE whom the gods love die young” is a trite saying, more or less verified, in some fashion, in the life experience of most men. The promise of Derozio’s early years might, or might not, have been realised. Those who knew him best and loved him most, believed, that, had life been granted him, he would have achieved for himself the very highest rank as poet and thinker. Notwithstanding all the praise bestowed on his early volumes by the press, and by warm-hearted admirers, Derozio did not, as has been asserted, rest on his oars and seek no higher fame, no more enduring monument of song and thought, than those embodied in boyish verse and speculation. Derozio himself believed, that he “had it in him,” to rise to higher flights of thought and to delve deep down into the great heart of humanity; and this self-assurance of conscious power grew in strength, and found expression in conversation with those who came in contact with him during the few months preceding his death.

A good deal has been said regarding the style of Derozio, that it is but an echo of Byron, Moore, and Mrs. McLean (L. E. L.), “exaggerated idealism and pictures of passion.” No doubt, the influence of these writers exercised considerable power in moulding the form of much of Derozio’s poetry. They were the poets then fashionable, and to depart from their models was, for a young unknown writer, to court defeat. Derozio’s idea was, first, to gain the ear of the public by singing to them in the prevailing fashion of the day; and then, having gained a hearing, to strike out in that style in which his own nature would most vigorously drape his song.

Commenting on a review of Derozio’s poetry which appeared in the 13th No. of the *Oriental Quarterly Magazine* for December 1829, the *Government Gazette*, of about the same date, then edited by Dr. John Grant, than whom no one then living could speak with greater authority, says:—

“When the Reviewer blames him (Derozio) for making the Byronic School too much his model, we must say for our young poet that he himself, at the time of publishing his *Fakeer of Jungheerah* anticipated that an objection against exaggerated passion and sentiment would be made. Why, then, it may be asked, did he not adopt a simpler model? This we shall briefly explain. In an article quoted from the *Quarterly Review* it is justly remarked that, ‘whoever endeavours to rival the best models of ancient and modern times, must be sustained by his own inherent love of

excellence, without depending on any other support.' He must give place to others whom *fashion* shines on. He (who would be popular) must be new and *striking*, or nothing. The consequence is that books are written, not in the manner that is best fitted to enlighten and amend, or even to instructively amuse the public, but to *flatter* it. Mr. Derozio was in no condition to be sustained by his own inherent love of excellence, without depending on any other support. The style adopted in the *Fakeer of Jungheerah* is not, we believe, the one most congenial to Mr. Derozio. This is very evident in the first volume he published. To bring out a book was to him, however, a serious undertaking, because one of the first considerations was, that the book should sell. To render this probable, he felt it necessary to give in to what he believed to be the general taste ; and he was therefore obliged to adopt the popular and fashionable model. In process of time, however, when Mr. Derozio may be enabled to depend more upon himself than he was then, we have little doubt, that he will prove satisfactorily to the public, that he is not irretrievably wedded to exaggerated idealism, or pictures of passion."

For ourselves, we believe with Dr. Grant that, had a few years more of life been possible for Derozio, he would have demonstrated to the full, what he had already demonstrated in part, that there was something more in him and his power of song, than sweet imitative echo.

The judgment which an impartial world passes on men, and the position assigned them by an unbiased succeeding generation, free from the heats of personal likes and dislikes, and bitter controversy, is based, not on what a man might have been, or what at some early period of his life he may have been, but on what he actually was, and what he achieved up to the time of his death. It is on these lines we venture to estimate H. L. V. Derozio.

The *Fakeer of Jungheerah* is a poem of two cantos, without a plot and with few incidents. It may be analysed in a sentence or two. A young Hindu widow is about to perform the rite of Sati, when she is rescued by a former lover, the leader of a band of lawless men, whose stronghold is the rock of Jungheerah. In a raid, the last on which he was to lead the band before quitting the lawless life for ever, the robber chief is killed and his band scattered, and Nuleeni is found dead in the arms of her dead lover. Around these few incidents, the genius of Derozio has woven some of the finest poetic imaginings ; and there are parts of the poem which indicate, if they do not always reach, the true elements which distinguish the genuine poet ; there are imagination, music, sympathy with nature and human nature, and *thought*. The opening of the poem alone, contains gems of poetic metaphor which

would have furnished almost the whole stock in trade of better known singers.

Here is the thought of the opening, without the music. The viewless wind, wandering like young spirits on the wing, over flower bells, waking odours, rustling the grass, breathes like a lover's sigh. The sun-lit stream breaks into dimples, like a waking child, smiling in its mother's face. The sun, like heavenly hope, set over earthly care, pours blessing on the earth; and brings its beauties forth. The butterfly, like a flower plucked by an angel from the fairest bowers of heaven, to which wings had been added, has been sent to earth, as an earnest of what beauties bud in heaven. The bee on quivering, melodious wing, like a faithless lover, giddy, and wild, sips honey from the floweret's lips. Under the banyan tree, fanned by refreshing winds, the brain circled by fair fancies, and the thought arrayed in robes of song—a beauteous spot would be blessed to minstrelsy; and there the gifted bard might weave delicious dreams. Then follows a piece of vigorous description, but not by any means the best in the poem.—

The golden God of Day has driven
His chariot to the western gate
Of yonder red resplendent heaven,
Where angels high to hail Him wait;
But ere his couch he press to night,
His rays a mournful scene shall light.

The laughing wave that rolls below,
Gilt with the yellow sunshine's glow,
Shall ere changed its hue may be,
A maddening wail of misery.

There are choruses of women, Brahmins and the chief Brahmins, and more descriptive passages. We transcribe the XV. stanza:—

As flits the insect round the flame,
So wheels the heart round passion's fire.
Their blindness, madness, still the same,
Alike in pangs they both expire.
Where'er the treacherous taper burns,
Thither the headlong insect turns;
And fearless, fluttering near it still,
Regardless of all pain or ill,
Until the warmth that round it plays
Attracts it nearer to the blaze,

Expiring there, at last it learns
Though bright the flame, it scathes, it
burns.
So round the torch that Love hath lit,
Mad as the moth the heart will flit—
On giddy wing it wildly wheels.
Th' enlivening glow its spirit feels;
And then it fondly fancies, this
Must be what minstrels picture bliss,
Until into the fire it flies,
And then, too late, lamenting, dies!

Stanza XIX., the Hymn to the Sun, though cast in a somewhat hackneyed measure, has a steady flow and majestic ring about it, which ought to make it better known.

HYMN TO THE SUN.

God of this beauteous world! whom earth
and heaven
Adore in concert, and in concert love,
Whose praise is hymned by the eternal
seven,
Bright wheeling minstrels of the courts
above!

God of this glorious universe!—the sea
Smiles in thy glance, and gladdens in
thy ray,
And lifteth up its voice in praise to thee,
Giver of good, Creator of the day!

God of th' immortal mind ! with power to scan
 Thoughts that like diamonds in the cavern lie,
 Though deeply bedded in the breast of man,
 Distinct and naked to thy piercing eye.
 God of Eternity ! whose golden throne
 Is borne upon the wings of angels bright ;
 God of all goodness, thou art God alone,
 Circled with glory, diademed with light !
 Thou look'st from thy pavilion, and each cloud,
 Like fear o'ercome by hope triumphant, flies ;
 The angry thunder's voice, though raving loud,
 At thy bright presence into silence dies.
 When all is darkness, like the sad soul's night,
 And tempests lower, like grief upon our hearts.
 Affrighted nature sees thy forehead bright,
 The black storm furls his banner, and departs.
 Thou mak'st the rainbow with thy golden beams
 Span the blue ocean rolling at thy feet ;
 Set in the sky, that arch of promise seems
 Like hope still distant, and like hope still sweet.
 The flowers, the beauty of the earth, implore
 Like woman in distress, thy rays to bring
 Their beauty out of nothing, and their store
 Of scent and sweetness from their latent spring.
 The forest's green is of thy giving. Thou
 Dost fling its emerald mantle o'er the earth—
 Prostrate to thee let all creation bow,
 For all creation at thy word had birth.

O Sun ! thy herald is the morning star,
 Like fame preceding greatness ; but when day
 Comes on advancing with thy gilded car,
 Heaven's hosts of wonder melt like sparks away.
 Who shall declare thy glory ?—Unto thee
 My heart in fervent adoration kneels ;
 Thou know'st whate'er its sufferings may be,
 To thee alone it tremblingly appeals.
 God of this beauteous world whom earth and heaven
 Adore in concert, and in concert love ;
 Thy praise is hymned by the perpetual seven.
 Bright wheeling minstrels of the courts above.
 God of this glorious universe ! the sea
 Smiles in thy glance and gladdens in thy ray,
 And lifteth up its voice in praise to thee,
 Giver of good, creator of the day !
 God of th' immortal mind ! with power to scan
 Thoughts that like diamonds in the cavern lie,
 Though deeply bedded in the breast of man,
 Distinct and naked to thy piercing eye.
 God of Eternity ! whose golden throne
 Is borne upon the wings of angels bright
 God of all goodness, thou art God alone,
 Circled with glory, diademed with light !

The repetition at the close, of the opening verses, is a feature in the poetry of Derozio which occurs frequently. This repetition of the opening notes of the strain, as the closing lines are dying on the ear, and thus carrying the memory and imagination back through the whole effort, and again down the line in thought, is a true poetic instinct, which poets and musicians of the first order have frequently handled, in a fashion to produce results of the happiest and most powerful description.

The first canto ends with Nuleeni and her lover safe together in the rocky home of Jungheerah. The closing verses are as follows :—

They're gone unto their rocky home—
 O ! such a bird in such a nest !
 Yet, from that spot she will not roam,
 To her the dearest, sweetest, best !

Yes ! for where love in woman's form
 Whispers soft vows in gentlest tone,
 The very snow-clad cliff will warm.
 The crag be smooth as eider down.

The pigeon on its pinion fair
From that grey islet never roves ;
Ah no—her constant mate is there,
With joy, and all its world of loves.—
* * * *

The night went by, and morning's wing
Through eastern skies came waving grey ;
The last lone star was glittering
With indistinct, and feeble ray.
Like hope, when'er it beams afar,
A pale a cold, a trembling star !
The breeze of matin roams about,
Sweet as the sigh a rose gives out,
When she hath half the sorrows heard,
At silent hour, in plaintive lay,
Of her enamoured minstrel bird,
Pining with passion pure, away.
The heavens are tinged with many a hue,
Gold, amethyst, and softest blue ;

As if the angels there had flung
Those colours from their plumes of light ;
And when their morning hymn was sung
Had rushed away from mortal sight.
Each cloud that melts, or swiftly flies
Like strangest dreams from sleepers' eyes ;
And lo ! the sun now beams above
Nuleeni and her Robber-love.—
Would that the days might thus have passed
Of that divine enthusiast,—
For ever bright, for ever fair,
No angry storm to blacken there,
Or break the pure, the crystal stream
Reflecting heaven, like poet's dream !—
O ! that the gems in pleasure's ring
Might never fade or fall away ;
But 'tis, alas ! a fragile thing
Breaking too like a rainbow's ray—
And oh ! were bliss to mortals given,
Who, who would leave our earth for heaven ?

The second canto opens with a festive scene at Rajmahal interrupted by the advent of Nuleeni's father, and contains, in our estimation, some of the most vigorous verses Derozio ever wrote. Stanza V.—The Legend of the Shushan (shushan, the place to which the dead are conveyed to be burned) ought long ago to have taken its place among the very few modern ballads of English poetry. It is not every poet that can write a ballad, and Derozio may claim to be one of these. The Legend of the Shushan, with all its imperfections, is worth all the Edwins and Angelinas, the Margarets and Williams, and the volumes of verse of all the Mallets and Peter Pindars of last century. We quote the ballad entire ; and our readers will readily, for themselves, light on verses which we venture to think, for faithfulness to nature, vivid realistic description, and felicity of thought and expression, are not often reached in English poetry :—

THE LEGEND OF THE SHUSHAN.

<p>O ! Love is strong, and its hopes 'twill build Where nothing beside would dare ; O ! Love is bright, and its beams will gild The desert dark, and bare, And youth is the time, the joyful time When visions of bliss are before us ; But alas ! when gone, in our sober prime We sigh for the days flown o'er us. For youth and love their hopes will build Where nothing beside would dare ; And they both are bright, and their beams will gild The desert, dark and bare. The rain fell fast, and the midnight blast Its horrible chaunt did sing, And it howled and raved as it madly passed Like a demon on wildest wing.</p>	<p>The precipitous lightning beamed all bright, As it flashed from the dark, dark sky, Like the beautiful glance (which kills with its light) Of a woman's large black eye. . It hissed through the air, and it dipped in the wave And it madly plunged into earth, Then pursued the wind to its desolate cave, And hurried to its home in the north. Some spirit had charmed each gathered cloud, Till the mystic spell it broke ; And then uprising, oft and loud, The heavens in thunder spoke. And sooth it seemed as if, save that gleam, All nature had lost her light— The moon had concealed her beautiful beam ; 'Twas a fearful, fearful night.</p>
---	---

On the wings of the storm each star had
 passed
 To its home of rest far away,
 As if in the blast there could not last
 Of radiance even a ray ;
 As if like hope and joy they ne'er
 Too long should brightly shine,
 Lest, if on earth they for ever were,
 Existence might be divine !
 'Twas a dismal night ; and the tempest sang
 As it rushed o'er flood and fell ;
 And loud the laugh of spirits rang
 With the demon's midnight yell.
 And the shriek and cry rose wild and high
 From many an earthless form ;
 And roar and shout cut through the sky.
 And mixed with the voice of the storm.
 But love is strong, and its hopes will build
 Where nothing beside would dare ;
 And love is bright, and its beams will gild
 The desert, dark and bare.
 And youth is the time, the joyful time
 When visions of bliss are before us ;
 But alas ! when gone, in our sober prime
 We sigh for the days flown o'er us.
 For love and youth their hopes will build
 Where nothing beside would dare ;
 And they both are bright, and their beams
 will gild
 The desert, dark and bare.
 O ! why at this hour, in the dark Shushan,
 Is the Prince Jogindra sighing ?
 Sure, that cannot be a dwelling for man,
 Where the loathsome dead are lying.
 Unearthly dogs are barking there,
 As to break the dead sleeper's dream ;
 And the grey wolf howls—'tis his dismal
 lair ;—
 And the owl glints by with a scream.
 The night wind moans, like a sick man's
 groans,
 When he, fevered, gasps on his bed—
 Then why is the Prince here all alone ?—
 Ah ! Radhika fair is dead.
 The wind may moan like a sick man's groan
 When he fevered gasps on his bed—
 But why is the Prince here all alone,
 Though Radhika fair be dead ?
 Her spirit is gone to some region blest,
 Unhurt by the storm and the strife—
 She will not wake from her dreamless rest ;
 And who shall charm her to life ?
 But there was a man, and a holy man,
 A gifted Sunyasee,
 Who bade him dwell in the dark Shushan,
 For days and black nights three.
 " There demons shall come and bid thee do
 " Full many a fearful deed ;
 " But if thou quail or shrink, thou'lt rue,
 " And death shall be thy meed,
 " Each night three trials must be passed,
 " Of earthly pain severest ;
 " And thou, if true, shalt win at last
 " Thy Radhika fairest, dearest.
 " But there's one deed thou shalt not do,
 " Though a spirit bright bids thee—
 " Yet if thou dare, that deed thou'lt rue ;"
 Said the sainted Sunyasee.
 " Now name that deed ; thou holy man !"
 Cried the Prince all eagerly ;
 " And I shall dwell in the dark Shushan
 " For days and black nights three."
 " It may not be," said the Sunyasee ;
 " Thy faith must yet be tried ;
 " And if great thy love and thy wisdom be,
 " Thou Prince ! shalt win thy bride.
 " But all unarmed, that home of the dead,
 " And heedless of friend or foe,
 " With feet unshod must Jogindra tread."
 Said the Prince : " With joy I go."
 For love is strong, and its hope 'twill build
 Where nothing beside would dare ;
 And love is bright, and its beams will gild
 The desert, dark and bare.
 And youth is the time, the joyful time
 When visions of bliss are before us ;
 But alas ! when gone, in our sober prime
 We sigh for the days flown o'er us.
 For love and youth their hopes will build
 Where nothing beside would dare ;
 And they both are bright, and their beams
 will gild
 The desert, dark and bare.
 Three days are done, and two nights gone
 In painful trials past ;
 This night remains, and the bride is won,
 If strong he be to the last.
 He sat on a stone, all mute and lone,
 By the corpse of his Radhika fair,
 When the lightning flashed, and the wind
 made moan,
 And a beautiful spirit stood there !
 Her eyes seemed made of the pure star-
 light,
 And her face was mild and sweet ;
 Her neck was white as the flower of night,
 And her tresses kissed her feet.
 Her form was like to the cypress tree,
 And her cheek, it was young love's bed ;
 Her fairy step, was light and free,
 Her lip like the lotus red.
 Her voice was sweet as when ripples meet,
 And sigh o'er a pebbled strand ;
 So soft was her song, it seemed to belong
 To a happy, heavenly land.

The Spirit's Song.

O ! now do not leave me,
 Since false friends have flown ;
 Dear Love ! do not grieve me,
 I've thought thee mine own.
 'Mid tempest and storm, love !
 'Mid good and 'mid ill,
 Thy form, thy bright form, love !
 My star hath been still.
 Though prospects before me
 Were darksome and drear,
 Though clouds gathered o'er me,
 Still, still thou wast near !
 My visions have faded,
 The tear fills mine eye,
 My hopes are degraded,
 They're hurled from on high.
 Like thoughts that are straying
 Where darkness should be,
 Bright moon-beams are playing
 Above the green sea.
 Now clouds are concealing
 The face of the moon—
 As onward she's wheeling,
 She's darkened too soon !
 O ! thus on my sorrow
 There shone silver beams ;
 Alas ! ere the morrow,
 They vanished like dreams !
 My bird was the sweetest
 That ever did sing,
 But ah ! 'twas the fleetest,
 And wild was its wing.
 But sweeter, far sweeter
 Did hope weave her lay,
 And, ah me ! much fleetier
 She flew far away.
 I've found thee, I've found thee—
 My griefs would be done,
 If love's chain had bound thee,
 And made us but one.
 Then oh ! do not leave me,
 Or wretched I'll be—
 For now what could grieve me
 But parting from thee ?

Her dawning smile breaks pensively ;
 With supplicating hands,
 And sad yet soft beseeching eye,
 That fairy vision stands.
 Jogindra's glance upon her dwelt,
 As there were magic in her form ;
 He gazed, he sighed, he almost felt
 His heart within him warm.
 " But no ! he cried, for constancy
 " Is every charm above ;
 " And I shall still be true to thee,
 My Radhika ! my Love ? "
 The storm is hushed, and the moon her light
 Has softly flung o'er all,
 And the dark Shushan is a palace bright,
 With lamps on each crystal wall.
 'Mid a glittering throng the sound of song
 Now floats on the scented air,
 As minstrel seraphs, glad and young,
 Were waking their music there !
 From heavenliest bowers they've gathered
 flowers,
 Red roses, and jasmines white ;
 On the wings of joy swift fly the hours,
 For the night is a bridal night !
 And high, on a throne of azure and gold,
 Jogindra in princely pride
 All smiling sits,—on his arm behold,
 Leans Radhika fair his bride !
 O ! Love is strong, and its hope 'twill build
 Where nothing beside would dare ;
 O ! Love is bright and its beams will gild
 The desert, dark and bare.
 And youth is the time, the joyful time,
 When visions of bliss are before us ;
 But alas ! when gone, in our sober prime,
 We sigh for the days flown o'er us.
 For love and youth their hopes will build
 Where nothing beside would dare ;
 And they both are bright, and their beams
 will gild
 The desert, dark and bare.

Derozio's note to the Legend of the Shushan we reproduce in its entirety. The wild weirdness of the original, and how far Derozio followed it, will be apparent to the reader :—

"A student of that excellent institution, the Hindu College, once brought me a translation of the Betal Punchesse, and the following fragment of a tale having struck me for its wildness, I thought of writing a ballad, the subject of which should be strictly Indian. The Shushan is a place to which the dead are conveyed, to be burnt. In conformity with the practice of eastern story-tellers, who frequently repeat the burden or moral of the song, I have introduced the "O Love is strong," &c., wherever an opportunity offered :—

"Thereupon, he took the Jogee aside, and said, 'O Gosayn ! you'

have given me many rubies, but have never even once eaten in my house : I am therefore much ashamed, so pray tell me what it is that you want?' 'Great King,' replied the Jogee, 'on the banks of the river Godavurri is a Shushan, where all I wish for will be gained by Muntra. Seven-eighths of what I want have been already obtained ; and I now seek at your hands the remaining portion. You must therefore stay with me one whole night.' 'Agreed,' replied the King, 'appoint the day.' 'On the evening of the fourteenth day of the month Bhader, come to me armed.' 'Go,' returned the Raja, 'and I promise to be with you on the day you have fixed.' With this promise the Devotee took leave of the King, and proceeded to the Shushan. The Raja was lost in meditation, till the time appointed stole upon him, and then, having armed himself, he went alone in the evening to the Jogee.

'Come in and sit down, my son,' said the Devotee ; and the Raja complied with his request, while at the same time he, unalarmed, beheld demons, ghosts, witches, and malignant spirits, dancing around him, and changing their forms. 'Now,' said the Raja, 'what are your commands?' 'Four miles south of this,' replied the Jogee, 'is a Shushan, where, on a tree, hangs a corpse, bring me that corpse, while I pray.' Having now sent the King away, the Jogee sat himself down, and commenced his devotions. The dark night frowned upon him ; and such a storm with rain came on, as if the heavens would have exhausted themselves, and never have rained again, while the demons and evil spirits set up a howl ! that might have daunted the stoutest heart. But the King held on his way, and, though snakes came wreathing round his legs, he got free of them by repeating a charm. At last, overcoming all opposition, he reached the cemetery, where he saw demons beating human beings, witches gnawing the livers of children, and tigers and elephants roaring. As he cast his eyes upon a Serus tree, he saw its root and branch in flames, and heard these words sounding from all quarters—'Strike ! strike ! seize, seize ! take care that none escape.' 'Come what will,' said he then to himself, 'this undoubtedly is the Jogee of whom the Dey made mention to me.' So saying, he went up to the tree, where he saw a corpse hanging with its head downwards. 'Now,' cried he, 'my labour is at an end.' Then fearlessly climbing the tree, he made a cut with his sword at the rope that suspended the corpse, which, as soon as it fell, began to cry. The King, hearing its voice, was pleased at the thought that it must have been a living being ; then having descended, 'Who are you?' said he to it. To his great astonishment, the corpse only laughed, and, without any reply, climbed the tree. The King followed it, and, having brought it

down in his arms, repeated his question. But, receiving no answer, he thought that it might have been the oil-man, who the Dey had said had been kept in the cemetery by the Jogee ; then, having bound it in his cloak, he began to bring it away.

He who greatly ventures, will greatly win. 'Who are you,' said Betal, the corpse, to the Raja, 'and where are you taking me?' 'I am Raja Vicrom,' said the King. 'and I am taking you to the Jogee.' 'Let it be agreed between us,' replied Betal, 'that if you speak while we are on the road, I shall return.' To this the Raja consented, and proceeded with the corpse. While they were on the way, 'O King,' said Betal, 'the learned and the wise spend their time in songs and study, and the indolent and ignorant in frivolity and sleep. It therefore behoves us to make an easy journey of it with pleasant conversation. Hear then what I now tell thee':

* * * * *

But there was a man, and a holy man,
A gifted Sunyasee.

A Sunyasee is a devotee who lives in the desert—

"The moss his bed, the cave his humble cell.

His food the fruits, his drink the crystal well."

The verses from Stanzas X. to XVIII. of the second canto are full of beautiful poetic imagery, dramatic intensity, and that sympathy between nature and human nature, which Wordsworth and above all Burns, in his "Wee modest crimson tippet flower," and "Wee sleekit cow'rin tim'rous beastie," developed to the highest point. We do not mean to assert, that Derozio may rank in equality as a poet with, either Wordsworth or Burns ; but it seems to us, that the poetry of Derozio is steeped in an intensity of feeling and passion, and a wealth of beautiful thought, a little fanciful, no doubt, which Wordsworth does not always reach, if he ever reaches ; and that, in common with all true poets, Derozio has felt and expressed, not only the close affinity of the varying moods and the life of man with the changeful phases of nature, but also the sympathy that links together all created things, and that throws the beams of a warm human love around on all Nature.

The parting between Nuleeni and her lover is, in some respects, one of the finest passages in the "Fakeer of Jungheerah." There is in it, not much of that deep grip of some of the more abstruse problems of life, which age and ripe experience can alone supply ; but there is a freshness and beauty, as well as a dramatic force and truthfulness, which poets of seventeen do not always

exhibit, and which may fairly earn for Derozio a niche among the great singers of all time—

X.

How beautiful is moonlight on the stream !
 How bright on life is Hope's enchanting
 beam :
 Life moves inconstant like the rippling rill,
 Hope's and the moon's rays quiver o'er
 them still !
 How soft upon each flower is fair moonlight
 Making its beauty more serenely bright,
 Bringing sweet sighs of fragrance from its
 breast,
 Where all its odours are, like thoughts, at
 rest.
 How sweet to sit upon a bank, and mark
 The soft moon looking on a little bark,
 As if she watched it from her azure sphere,
 The guardian spirit of its blest career ;
 Flinging her melted pearls upon its sail,
 That swells with infant pride before the
 gale, —
 How speeds the shallop with its fleecy wing,
 Like bliss or fancy—quite a fragile thing !
 Thus shone the moon upon the hallowed
 wave,
 Bright as the wish for freedom, in a slave ;
 Thus shone the moon upon Jungheera's
 flower,
 Nuleeni, rosebud of the rocky bower ;
 And thus soft beams upon the shallop lay,
 Which soon must bear her Robber-love
 away.

XI.

Alas ! that fate should come 'twixt heart
 and heart,
 And, like a tyrant, force the loved to part !
 Breaking the dream which comes but once,
 to bless
 Existence with a ray of happiness—
 That golden vision which, in mercy given,
 Seems as 'twere brought by seraphim from
 heaven ;
 And when 'tis gone we wish that life were
 o'er,
 To dream in heaven that dream for ever-
 more.
 Alas ! that warm celestial Love should
 know
 The blights of earth, the agonies of woe—
 The killing poison creeping through each
 vein.
 The feelings crushed, and the bewildered
 brain.
 The scorpion stinging every hope to death,
 And life bereft of all but tears and breath.—
 'Tis well these pangs it never twice can feel,
 For hearts impassioned, wounded, never
 heal ;
 Like broken pearls, no power of mortal art
 Can mend the gems or join the riven
 heart !

When to some spirit we have linked our
 lot,
 One who, through life, can never be forgot,
 One, whom with fond affection we have
 placed
 To light, and warm the bosom's dismal
 waste—
 O ! if that spirit from the breast be torn,
 Where like a precious jewel it was worn,
 What, when 'tis gone, may memory hope to
 find ?
 A blank—a void—a dreariness of mind !—
 It is as if upon a gloomy night,
 When one soft star alone is twinkling
 bright.
 An angry, lowering cloud of blackest hue
 Should gather o'er, and quench that lin-
 gerer too.

XII.

'Tis sweet upon the midnight moon to gaze,
 As o'er the waters shoot her trembling
 rays ;
 'Tis sweet at star-lit hour to hear the breeze
 Waking o'er pebbles its rich melodies,
 Like a young minstrel with his tuneful art
 Singing to soften the unfeeling heart.—
 But oh ! to gaze upon the love-lit eye,
 To feel its warmth, and all its witchery ;
 To hear the melting music of that voice
 Which bids the bosom madden or rejoice ;
 To know that every glance, and thought,
 and tone
 Of one devoted spirit is our own—
 O ! this is joy, like that to angels given,
 Filled to the brim, the heavenliest cup of
 heaven.
 Her Robber-love and young Nuleeni share
 Each bliss as perfect as the heart may bear,
 All those soft dreams th' impassioned
 spirit knows,
 Those wild emotions Love alone bestows—
 Ecstatic fancies which but once can be,
 Making us quite forget Mortality !—
 He looked upon her eye, as 'twere the star
 Of life and death to him—no gem afar
 That sparkied o'er them in the clear blue
 sky
 Foretold so truly of his destiny,—
 There was a softened sadness on his brow,
 But seldom there, though too apparent
 now—
 The savage sternness from his face was gone,
 Where but that beam of Melancholy shone
 As 'twere prophetic of the grief that soon
 Must fling its shadow on their blissful
 moon—
 Or like a herald onward sent to tell,
 That all within his bosom was not well.—

"Thee, sweet! to-night for one short hour
I leave—
"A daring conquest must my hand achieve;
"And 'tis my promise, ere another chief
"Shall be selected for thy love's relief,
"Once more to lead them to their prey
alone,
"Then quit for ever, and be all thine
own.
"Quench not the light of that life-giving
eye,
"Swift on the wings of Love to thee I'll
fly—
"But one short hour—and I demand no
more—
"For ever thine, when that short hour is
o'er."

XIII.

How dreadful is the storm, with flag un-
furled!
And sheathless lightning warring with the
world
Lost is of light the last remaining ray,
As if the stars had burnt themselves away,
Or, as the wind, by furious demons driven
Had quenched for ever those small lamps
of heaven!
Hark! how it rushes like a maniac by,
Raving and singing as it cuts the sky—
Hark! how it hissing o'er the river flies—
Chafing the waves, and moaning till it dies!
As though the spirits of the storm, unblest,
Had been sent down to trouble all at rest.
Snatched is the moon from heaven, as she
had been
Too fair a witness for so dark a scene:
As though her delicate and gentle form
Might ne'er abide the gathering of the
storm;
But, like the beautiful on earth, be still
Bowed or destroyed beneath the blasts of ill.
The heavens their flood-gates all at once
unbar
The waters wildly hurry to the war,
Madly to earth the rain in torrents gushed,
As from its dismal prison-clouds it rushed;
Against Jungheer's rocks, and shelving
shore
Loud howls the tempest wild—the breakers
roar,—
Thus, as the tempest dimmed the moon-
light scene,
Upon Nulceeni's soul where all had been
At peace, those words of parting quenched
the light
Which made existence most divinely
bright.—

XIV.

"And must we part so soon?—an hour
from thee,
"A single moment were Eternity—
"When thou art gone—alas! what can I
find
"To fill the dreadful vacuum of mind?

"A thought, a feeling that may yield relief,
"And, like a pitying angel, soothe my
grief?
"Yes—but one thought, one feeling shall
be there—
"Tis more to name it than my spirit dare—
"The doubt—th' uncertain moments which
will bring
"Pangs that have deadliest poison in their
sting—
"The dubious hour—the fear of losing
thee—
"The pain—the parting—no—it cannot
be:—
"Why shouldst thou leave me on this
stormy night,
"And, like yon heaven, deprive my soul
of light?
"Alas! when thou art gone, its latest ray
"Its brightest, warmest beam, will melt
away.
"Why o'er the waters should my love
career?
"Thy home's my bosom—come, and rest
thee here!—
"Ah! yet before thy rash resolve be made,
"Ere of the truth my spirit is afraid,
"Let me once warn thee, that our dream so
bright
"May darkly end as darkly speeds the
night—
"But now the moon shone fair in yonder
sky;
"Like her, our hopes were fair, and far
more high—
"The tempest's wing has veiled her silver
brow;
"Thus fear is gathering o'er me, round
me now.
"Turn not aside from me that brow divine,
"That gaze where I must read the lot
that's mine—
"Nay—I will cling to thee—O! tear me
not
"From thy embrace—is all, is all forgot?
"Are those fond vows which once to me
were given
"Gone like thin clouds by winds for ever
driven—
"Has love withdrawn at once his meteor
light:
"Or why this madness—why this wish to-
night—
"This wish to sever—is thy soul estranged
"From her it cherished,—or am I now
changed?—
"Well, be it so—forsake me if thou wilt,
"And none be pangs more keen than
conscious guilt?
"But ah! not now—this wrathful tempest
brings
"Unerring death upon its roaring wings.
"When, fortune turning from our path
away,
"Flings o'er our spirits but a darker day

"When parting Hope no promise leaves behind,
 "To cheer the murky midnight of the mind;
 "If then, this cold world force our souls to part,
 "Breaking this fragile, this devoted heart;
 "If from the gathered storm-cloud then, the bands
 "Of demons flash, like meteors red, their brands,—
 "Let the wild tempest burst; and if one cry
 "Rush from our anguished bosoms to the sky—
 "That wail of woe, if we of Fate complain.
 "Shall rise with justice, though it rise in vain.—
 "But now to sever, even unbidden thus,
 "Who dreams how long?—ah! no—'tis not for us—
 "My fond entreaties shall thy purpose shake,
 "This heart no parting of to-night shall break."

XV.

There was that conscious firmness in her tone,
 Which Hope but lends to trusting Love alone,
 That certainty which dwells perchance above,
 Unknown on earth, and least of all to love.—
 Why does the spirit thus itself deceive,
 And all its own fond flatteries believe?
 Is it because these soft delusive dreams
 Like rainbows glow with heavenly-painted beams.
 And that to make them, we even shed our tears,
 If the glad sunshine come from happier spheres?—
 Alas! 'tis true; for when those beams have flown
 The tears remain, and they—are all our own!

XVI.

"Nay, I must leave thee—passed is now my word;
 "And who has known me shrink from truth or pain?
 "Thou shalt not pine in solitude, sweet bird!
 "Ere long I'll warm thee in my breast again—
 * * * * *
 "But one short hour shall raise its shadowy screen,
 "Me and the light of those dear eyes between;
 "That past, existence shall be one sweet dream,
 "Still lit, still gilded by love's brightest beam.—

"Behold, how rapidly the storm-clouds roll
 "From heaven's blue face, like shrivelled leaf, or scroll.
 "The deep-toned thunder booms not on the breeze,
 "The tempest sings not through the tamarind trees;
 "The soft, transparent air, with perfumes sweet
 "Just stirs the ripples, murmuring at our feet—
 "Each star has set in heaven its urn of light.
 "And lo! that black cloud wears a border white;
 "While all beyond it is, of silver—soon
 "Shall night behold upon her throne, the moon—
 "One hour her progress shall but scarcely tell.
 "Ere I return—no more to say farewell."

XVII.

Farewell!—alas! that melancholy word
 Comes spell-like on the heart whene'er 'tis heard,
 As if the spirit, from that moment, were
 Bound with a curse to be dissevered ne'er.
 It lingers on the ear, as if 'twould be
 Still sounding, until slow Eternity
 Came stealing o'er existence; and there seems
 An omen in its echo, as in dreams
 The trusting maiden fondly seeks a sign,
 Her hope's mysterious history to divine.
 Ah! there's a mournful, a prophetic spell
 In the faint fall, of early love's farewell.

XVIII.

They're parted—O! that e'er the tried, the fond
 Should severed be, and find that all beyond
 That withering moment is but solitude;
 And then the soul its dreary widowhood
 Bemoans in chaos!—Love's adieu, when spoken,
 Leaves nothing to the heart for ever broken—
 Of all the visions that once bright could be,
 O! what remains?—nought but their memory!—
 They're parted.—With his band, that outlaw bold
 For plunder armed, now quits his rocky hold.
 In starry fragments, by the potent stroke
 Of dashing oars, the crystal billow's broke;
 The bark swims onward like a water sprite
 At play beneath the beauty's eye of night;
 Her pointed prow has kissed the moonlit strand,
 That now receives the Robber and his band—
 Then to the secret haunt, and there to each
 His desperate duty shall their captain teach;
 Each man his charge * * * * *

We close our extracts from the Fakeer of Jungheerah, with a description of the night in which Nuleeni goes forth to search the battle-plain for her lover.

High from her cloud pavilion, fleecy white,
The moon rains down her showers of icy
light,
And worlds in multitudes, resplendent, throng
Around her throne, like minstrels with their
song,
Loosening sweet music on the fragrant breeze,
That silent listens to their melodies.
The earth sleeps listless;—she will wake again
When morning breaks her dream; but shall
the slain,
Whom now upon her bosom cold she bears,
Yet find a land unreached by mortal cares—
A morning blushing in a brighter sky,
Than that above which seems for bliss too
nigh?
Mysterious sleep! whate'er of nothingness
Man learns, it is from thee:—but thou canst
bless
The heart, to whom Hope's joy-inspiring
name
Has long been but a sound; whose being's
flame
Is almost quenched into the latest spark,
That gleams to show how all around is dark—

Though dread thine influence: the soul of
grief
Woos thee alone, for thou canst yield relief,
Such as the dreams of waking life may ne'er
Bestow on human suffering, and despair—
Now all around is tranquil as the sea
When hushed it seems as in a reverie;
So still, so silent, you might hear the beat
Of your own heart, or seraph's viewless feet,
Or deem your mind's imagining had found
Some spell to form itself into a sound—
One of those thin ethereal tones that we
Oft hear at night—the heart's best mins-
trelsy.
Too pure for mortal ear, and earthly pain —
But lo! alone upon the battle-plain,
Pale as embodied moonlight, glides a form,
Like a soft breeze, when silenced is the storm!
Is it a spirit from a happier sphere
Come down to mourn o'er wreck'd enjoy-
ment here?
Or learn that earth has lost its paradise?
Or bear a tale of suffering to the skies?
"Tis poor Nuleeni? * * * *

That the Fakeer of Jungheerah is not better known to the students of English literature, and that it seems to be totally unknown to this generation of fairly cultured men and women, is due, in some measure, to the fact, that, as a rule, things Indian have a weak vitality. There is probably no society in the world which experiences more frequent changes, in so short a period, as the society which forms the brain and heart of India. One race of officials and merchants succeeds another; and a man toiling in the plains of India for half a century may see set succeed set, in ever vanishing trains; and he himself, though known well perhaps to the men who formed society at his first coming, may, unless he is in some prominent position, be all but unknown to later comers. On the other hand, men who have made for themselves a fair reputation in India return to Britain, and experience something of the spirit at least, of the lines—

....."no one, now,
Dwells in the Hall of Ivor;
Men, dogs and horses all are dead,
He is the sole survivor."

The cultured and literary circle of which Derozio formed not the least ornament, fifty years ago, in Calcutta, would have added a lustre, and formed the centre of attraction, to any capital of Europe: Grant, Richardson, Parker, Calder Campbell, John Silk Buckingham, R. Haldane Rattray, and other men of

brilliant parts have all but faded out, from the memory of India and her people; and if the memory of Derozio, the brilliant Eurasian lad, who gave such solid evidence of wide capacity and genius, has shared the same fate, it is because the community to which he belonged, for which he laboured, and over which he threw the radiance of his genius, are so apathetic, so indifferent to their own interests, and apparently so ashamed of their origin, as to be deserted by the men who ought to organize and lead them on the path of progress and self-helpfulness, and inspire in them a love for the country which is their native land, instead of talking of England as "home," claiming to be Englishmen, and learning to despise the race of their mothers.

Of Derozio's minor pieces, "The Enchantress of the Cave," is the longest. It is cast in the same dramatic mould that characterises some portions of his "Fakcer of Jungheerah," and it exhibits a minuteness of detail, and a fidelity to nature, which mark some of his best productions. Like "the Fakcer of Jungheerah," the "Enchantress of the Cave" is strung on but a slender thread of narrative. The story may be briefly summarised in a line or two; and even then, the tale, with the exception of the interview in the cave, is rather hinted at than detailed.

The night before a decisive battle is to be fought between Muhammadans and Hindus for the mastery of India, Nazim seeks the enchantress of the cave to learn "whether all is well" with his wife Jumeeli, whom he has left behind. He finds that the youth who had accompanied him to battle has deserted him, and he proceeds alone to the cave. In the "Enchantress" he discovers Jumeeli, his wife, who had accompanied him to battle, disguised in male attire, and again assumed the guise of an enchantress. This is the whole story. The ride to the cave is thus described:—

O'er many a hill he urged his horse,
Unchecked his speed, uncrossed his course.
The rowel of his spur was red;
Away like lighting-shaft he sped,
The hills rung with his clattering tread;
Yet gallantly he urged him on,
For the cave must be gained ere rise of sun;
His course like a mountaineer's arrow
he kept,
Full forward he went—the ravine is leapt:
That milk white barb now neighed aloud,
And toss'd on high his crest so proud;
The white foam blanched his bridle rein,

As wildly streamed his flowing mane;
He champed the bit that galled him much,
Then sprung to Nazim's spurring touch;
Away he bounds—his speed might cope
With flight of fleetest antelope;
Now down the vale he wends, and now
Has almost reached the lofty brow
Of yonder hill—and when 'tis past,
He'll win the wished-for cave at last.
'Tis won—he's gone—no more I hear
His charger's tramp ring on my ear,
Its very echo now is still,
And silent are the vale and hill!

Here is a picture of the cave and the enchantress which recalls some of the weird effects of the Legend of the Shushan:—

His steed is tied to a withered tree,
And now the cavern enters he;
And who is the hag so wan and grim
That sits there, all regardless of him?

Her yellow skin is shrivelled and shrunk,
Her locks are grey, and her eyes are sunk,
And time has set on her brow, it appears,
Perchance the seal of a hundred years,

A hundred years of sorrow and care—
Look, look on that brow--what paleness is
there!
And there's an unearthly flash in her eye,
When first it is fixed on a passer-by;
Her lips are parched, her jaws are lank,
The cave that shields her is dreary and
dank;

A cauldron is seething in that lone cave,
Which yawns like a desolate, loathsome
grave;
And she, the tenant who makes it her
home,
Looks like an Afrit* escaped from the
tomb!

Here in its entirety is the Song of the Enchantress. The notes
A to F, appended to this poem, show an amount of out-of-the-
way reading, and an acquaintance with legendary lore, which exhi-
bits, in some fashion, one side, at least, of the wide reading of
Derozio:—

"Oh! Chuhulmenar† is far from me;
"But there the treasure of ages be;
"There wilt thou find great Jemshid's
gem,‡
"And Gian Ben Gian's bright diadem.
"And the wealth of the Seventy-two is
there—
"But, creature of clay!
"They're far away—
"Then why dost thou come to claim my
care?
"The Seal § of the fifth king can controul
"Genius and Giant, and Ogre and Ghoul;
"By its power the tides of the sea are
confined.
"It quenches the fire, and it hushes the
wind—
"Say, dost thou seek this talisman true?
"In its search there is many a peril to rue,
"And ere it is won thou must wander far,
"For buried it lies in Chuhulmenar.
"To-morrow the leaguering cohorts assail
"The Hindoo, and well know I who will
prevail;
"I ween by thy pistols, and sabre, and
shield,
"That thou art just come from the tented
field;
"But there is no charm, save the strength
of thine arm,
"To vanquish thy foeman, and keep thee
from harm.
"The friendly Simurgh|| through th'
ethereal path,
"It was once said, bore Tahamurath;
"The wonderful bird o'er the dark desert
bore him.
"Till all from Kaf to Kaf¶ was before him;
"He took from its bosom the plumes for
his helm,
"Then where was the power that he could
not o'erwhelm?

"But fled's the Simurgh to the mountain
that stands
"On the stone** that ne'er moves but when
Alla commands.
"Mid noxious winds, and vapours damp
"Love seldom flies to the warrior's camp;
"Once Rustum and Zal loved well, 'tis
true,
"Since then, such faith has been proved
by few.
"O! com'st thou here like the nightingale
"That hath no young rose to list his tale?
"Or does the Sultana of thy lone heart,
"Forgetting thy pain, play the tyrant's
part?
"Or is she faithless, and hath she fled
"To share with another her shame and
bed?
"There once was a charm in the opal stone
"To make the false heart all thine own;
"But the Peri-King came and stole the
gem,
"And placed it in his own diadem;
"Since then, it has lost the potent spell
"To bind the frail and the faithless well.
"In the cygnet's down there once was
power
"To blight the woe of an evil hour;
"But ah! the swan with her crest of pride
"Spurns the purple Jumna's tide.
"They say 'twas told to seers of old
"That the faintest heart waxed warm and
bold,
"If it could obtain,
"Regardless of pain,
"And reckless of all that it counted loss,
"A plume from the wing of the albatross—
"But that bird has poised him high in air.
"And, alas! his resting-place is there!††
"Every mystic spell and charm
"That yielded bliss, or kept from harm,

* "These were a kind or Medusæ or
Lamiæ supposed to be the most terrible
and cruel of all the orders of the Dives,"
—Vide *Vathek* and *d'Herbelot*.

† Vide note A.

‡ Vide note B.

§ The seal of Soliman Jared, Vide note C

|| A fabulous bird. Vide note D.

¶ From one extremity of the earth to the
other. Vide note E.

** Sukhrat. Vide note F.

†† It is said that this bird sleeps while
flying.

" Is fled, is fled like a dream of the night,
 " Save *one* that I must not bring to light,
 " Save *one* that to name I must not dare—
 " Then say, Oh ! say
 " Why, creature of clay,
 " Hither thou com'st to claim my care ?
 " What to me is Jemshid's gem,
 " Or the King of the Peri's diadem ?
 " Chuhulmenar is a city fair,
 " But what to me is the wealth that's
 there ?
 " The fifth King's seal on the wretch
 bestow
 " Whom slaves of Eblis * have wrung with
 woe ; "
 " No victim am I of a spectre foul,
 " And why should I shrink from a hell-
 hound's howl ?
 " I seek not to curb the chainless sea,
 " And what are the winds and the waves to
 me ?
 " Cold, cold on the sod at dawn I may lie,
 " But somewhat I seek to know ere I die—
 " 'Tis not my doom—perchance that's sealed,
 " And now too late to be repealed ;
 " What'er it be, to heaven and it,
 " With faith and patience I submit ;
 " But yet I could not brave the strife
 " Without the fears which now I feel,
 " Fears—not, alas ! for mine own life,
 " From me that scarce a thought could steal.
 " Thou may'st have seen the tendril twine
 " Around the green bough of the vine,—
 " How fresh and fair, how sweet and young
 " It looked, as to the branch it clung !
 " But when the bough was riven away
 " It ne'er survived the wreck a day !
 " Thou may'st have seen in many a grove
 " The queen of spring, the Bulbul's love !
 " How fair she smiled ! her every leaf
 " Might give a glow to the cheek of grief,
 " And every odour that she shed
 " Imparted sweetness ere it fled.
 " Thou then perchance didst rudely tear
 " The flowret from its stalk, and wear
 " That fragile emblem of the fair
 " Upon thy breast—but it perished there !
 " So, like the tendril to its vine
 " Jumeeli's heart has clung to mine ;
 " And as the rose from its own tree
 " Too soon she'd fade, if torn from me,
 " And Oh ! I could not calmly die,
 " Until I knew that all was well
 " With her, who claims my latest sigh—
 " If thou thus much to me canst tell,
 " If this, thy dark, prophetic eye
 " Can see—I seek nor sign nor spell."
 * * * * * * *
 * * * * * * *
 " There is a red streak in the east
 " Of coming light it gives them warning
 " To glorious brightness now increased,
 " It shines upon the dews of morning.
 " But where is Nazim, where his bride ?
 " To battle's red field, side by side
 " They're gone."—

NOTES.

(A) *Oh ! Chuhulmenar is far from me.*

Chuhulmenar is the modern name of Istakhar. It signifies "*forty pillars*," so called (as Mrs. Ramsbottom would say) because forty pillars were built in it by Soliman Ben Daoud. It was known to the Greeks by the name of Persepolis, so famous in the history of "Macedonia's Madman." Here, it is said, are deposited the treasures of the seventy-two pre-adamite Sultans (about whom Mussulmans only pretend to know any thing,) and the diadem of Gian Ben Gian, the chief of the Genii, to whom the building of the pyramids of Egypt, as well as the temple of Soliman, has been ascribed. Gian Ben Gian is said to have reigned two thousand years over the Peris.

(B) *There wilt thou find great Jemshid's gem.*

Jemshid's gem has given birth to many oriental similes, and most of the Hindoos-

tanee poets have made allusions to it. I hope to be forgiven for having made mention of it here, as I have nowhere read of the gem of Jemshid being in Istakhar, although that Sultan built that city. The story of this gme, like that of many wonderful things, seems enveloped in a cloud of mystery, so that it *may* be all a fable, or *I may* be right.

(C) *The Seal of the fifth king can controul Genius and Giant, and Ogre and Ghoul.*

The most famous talisman of the east was the seal of Soliman Jared, fifth monarch of the world, after Adam. It not only controuled Genii and demons of all kinds, but the possessor of it had the entire command of the elements.—*Vathek. Richardson. D'Herbelot.*

(D) *The friendly Simurgh.*

"Rara avis in terris" and wonderful stories are told concerning it. For a more

* The Muhammadan Pluto

particular account of it, I beg to refer the reader to Calif Vathek.

(E) *Till all from Kaf to Kaf was before him.*

This mountain, which is no other than Caucasus, was supposed to surround the world like a wall; and the sun, it was believed, rose from one of its eminences, and set on the opposite—hence “from *Kaf* to *Kaf*” signified *from one extremity of the earth to the other*. It was to this mountain that the Simugh bore Tahamurath through the air, and over the desert. From the breast of this bird he took the plumes for

his helmet, and they have been since worn by the most renowned warriors of the east, who consequently have never wanted success.—*Vathek*.

(F) *To the mountain that stands
On the stone that ne'er moves but when
Alla commands.*

This stone is called *Sukhrat*, and resembles, or is thought to be, an emerald. On it stands mount *Kaf*; and when *Alla* commands it, or any of its fibres to move, an earthquake is produced.

In this abrupt fashion the tale ends, and the imagination is left to conceive what follows.

The rare merit of some of Sir Philip Sidney's sonnets is too well known, to require that their excellence should be dilated on here. The XXXIst of *Astrophel and Stella* beginning

With how sad steps O! moon thou climb'st the skies,
How silently, and with how wan a face,

And the XXXIXth.

Come sleep, O! sleep! the certain knot of peace,
The baiting place of wit, the balm of woe,
The poor man's wealth, the prisoner's release,
The indifferent judge between the high and low,

are probably two of the most exquisite of the whole one hundred sonnets and songs of *Astrophel and Stella*; nevertheless we hazard the opinion that, with the exception of the XXXIXth there are a few of Derozio's sonnets that come little, if anything, short in merit of some of the best productions of Sir Philip Sidney. The sonnets of the Eurasian lad, whose *Alma Mater* was a Dhurumtolah Adventure School, who never travelled beyond the limits of Bengal, and whose chivalry, charity and purity in some respects resembled Sidney's, the idol of Elizabethan England, are likely to go down the stream of literature and time, side by side, with those of the representative of the “unstained young manhood” of England's sixteenth century.

Here are some of Derozio's Sonnets:—

TO THE RISING MOON.

Why art thou blushing Lady? Art thou
ashamed
To show thy full fair face? Behind yon
screen
Of trees, which Nature has enrobed with
green,
Thou stand'st as one whose hidden sins are
named,
Peeping the leafy crevices between.
Like memory looking through the chinks
of years
For some fair island spot unsoiled by tears,—

Now thou'rt ascending, melancholy queen!
But the red rose has sickened on thy cheek,
And there thou wanderest, sorrowful and
weak,
And heedless where thou'rt straying, sad and
pale,
Like grief-struck maiden, who has heard
revealed
To all the world, that which she wished con-
cealed,
Her trusting loves, and hapless frailty's tale.

TO THE MOON.

<p>Lonely thou wanderest through wide heaven, like one That has some fearful deed of darkness done, With grief upon thy cheek; while sad despair Coldly refuseth thee a shelter, where Repose might give thee welcome. Or hast thou Washed with pale light thy melancholy brow, Because the dream's hope brought thee once, have fled, And left the thoughts of sadness in their stead?</p>	<p>Ah, no! it is that thou art too near earth Ever to witness rosy pleasures birth; And ceaseless gazing on the thousand showers Of ill that inundate the world of ours Has touched thy heart, and bid thine aspect be, For our misfortunes, pale with sympathy.</p>
---	--

These sonnets will probably recall to the reader's mind, the lines "To the Moon" of P. B. Shelley,—

<p>Art thou pale for weariness Of climbing heaven, and gazing on the earth, Wandering companionless Among the stars, that have a different birth,—</p>	<p>And ever changing, like a joyless eye That finds no object worth its constancy?</p>
---	---

Derozio's power of transferring to inanimate nature the living passions, hopes, and fears, of human nature loses nothing when compared with Shelley.

DREAMS.

<p>Dreams to the careworn soul are kindly given Like revelations of the joys of heaven, Without a taint of earth—so warm, so bright, Like spirits born of happiness and light. And it is this which makes me fondly deem That love's a gilded soft, ethereal dream! That dream once glided through my heart and brain, Giving new life to every parched-up vein,</p>	<p>Waking those fancies which, like scouts, are hidden, Until the breeze upon the flower hath ridden, Bringing to light those thoughts like pearls that lie, Till by thee driven from obscurity, They're brought for whiter necks.—O! thus love shone Upon my spirit—dark since love is gone.</p>
--	---

NIGHT.

I.	II.
<p>For loneliness and thought this is the hour:— Now that thou smil'st so beautiful and bright, Oh! how I feel thy soul-subduing power, And gaze upon thy loveliness, sweet Night! There sails the moon, like a small silver bark Floating upon the ocean vast and dark: Lovers should only look upon her light, And only by her light should lovers meet; They catch an inspiration from the sight, And all their words flow musically sweet, Like the soft fall of waters far away; Their hearts run o'er with gladness, till they seem As if they were not beings of the day, But beautiful creations of a dream!</p>	<p>Night, Night, O Night! thou hast a gentle face, Like a fond mother's smiling o'er her child! I gaze on thee till my soul swells apace With thoughts, and aspirations high, and wild. 'Tis ever so; and there be some who find That when the eye is fixed on boundless space, Spurning the earth, vast grows the giant mind, And seeks in some bright orb a dwelling- place. And it may be, that in my breast the fires Of hope, and fancy, both are burning bright; And all my aspirations, and desires May pass away, e'en with thy shadows, Night!</p>

But could my spirit fly from earth afar,
'Twould dwell with one I love in yonder
lovely star.

III.

Oh! how fond memory in the calm of night
Brings to the mind young love, though
love hath past,
With all th' endearing things which gave
delight,
And which we once believed could always
last!
Oft at this hour, in happier days I deem,
When, Time! thy foot fell softly upon
flowers,
And lighted by Diana's purest beam,
Have youthful hearts enjoyed the passing
hours;
And as the lover named the loved-one's
name,
Pale grew her cheek, while glowed the
fire within,
Like pure asbestos whitened by the
flame;—
Then did the madness of his heart begin;
And then he gazed upon her forehead fair,
Then looked into her eyes, to see if love
was there.

IV.

Swift as the dark eye's glance, or falcon's
flight.
Thought comes on thought, awakened by
the night—
And there are some which point toward
the past,
And fondly linger o'er life's twilight sky,
Hailing the sacred star of memory;
And thou, though lonely, thou, my poor
heart, hast—
Much to muse over of past happiness;
And though 'tis gone for ever, not the less
Is it's remembrance dear:—but lo! a cloud
Hath wrapt the moon, like beauty in a
shroud!
Hush! there is silence—but methinks mine
ear
A distant, sweet, seraphic hymn doth
hear—
The stars alone are watching from above,
Hush! 'tis the night wind's voice—ah! soft
as her's I love.

V.

This to the soul of feeling, sadness brings,
And painful thoughts of those who once
were dear,
But who, now far from bleak misfortune's
sphere,
Fly on, from world to world, with golden
wings;
This wakes in many an eye a hopeless
tear;
Tis vainly shed, for still the fond heart
clings
(Though sorrow all it's best enjoyments
sear)
Unto the memory of vanished things!—
The moon is gone; and thus go those we
love;
The night winds wail; and thus for them
we mourn;
The stars look down; thus spirits from
above
Hallow the mourner's tears upon the urn.
Some thoughts are all of joy, and some of
woe;
Mine end in tears—they're welcome—let
them flow.

VI.

Ye tears that flow, ye sighs that break the
heart,
Ah! wherefore do ye not relieve the
wound,
The deadly wound, which Grief's envenomed
dart
Gives to the breast, whose blood must
stream unbound?
Ah! no, it must not be!—tears wildly start,
And sighs are heaved, and blood sinks
in the ground;
But these bring no relief:—we look
around,
But vainly look for those who formed a part
Of us, as we of them, and whom we
wore
Like gems in bezils, in the heart's deep
core.
Where are they now?—gone to that "nar-
row cell"
Whose gloom no lamp hath broken, nor
shall break,
Whose secrets never spirit came to tell:—
O! that their day might dawn, for then
they would awake.

There are several other of Derozio's minor pieces that will well repay the reading, indeed, there is scarcely any thing he ever wrote, which does not bear the impress of his strong fertile imagination and his culture. The "Poet's Habitation," the "New Atlantis," "Ada," "Address to the Greeks," "Poetic Haunts," and the "Golden Vase," are of all them productions of which poets whose name is written in the roll of the immortals, and whose memory is

enshrined in the hearts of their devotees, need not be ashamed. The latter, the "Golden Vase," is a subject which has been handled by poets since the days of Boccaccio. Keats dealt with it in his own melodious, sumptuous way, in his "Isabella, or the Pot of Basil." Derozio has woven round the theme a simple thread of burning love and woman's constancy, and his independent, natural treatment of the topic ought to have earned for him a warmer recognition of his genuine capacity, and the possession of the true poetic instinct.

Derozio cannot claim to rank in the foremost line of great poets. His was the first glad song of conscious power, poured forth, steeped in the feeling, passion, and imagination of his simple, boyish nature. Should the memoir which appeared in these pages, and this short notice of his poetry, in any way help to call attention to the brilliant lad, and his song of promise, they will have served their purpose, if they vindicate for him an humble place in

..... " the choir invisible,
" Of those immortal dead who live again
" In minds made better by their presence : live
" In pulses stirred to generosity,
" In deeds of daring rectitude, in scorn
" For miserable aims, that end with self,
" In thoughts sublime that pierce the night, like stars,
" And, with their mild persistence, urge men's search
" To vaster issues."

THOMAS EDWARDS.

ART. VI.—HISTORICAL SKETCH OF PORTUGUESE
INDIA. BY E. REHATSEK.

*With a List of its Viceroys, Governors, and Captains-General
till 1881.*

AFTER having discovered the island of Mozambique and a portion of the coast of East Africa, Vasco da Gama sailed from Melinde on the 24th April 1498, taking with him a pilot to guide the Portuguese fleet to India, on whose shores he landed on the 20th May, at Calicut. Thus the possibility of reaching India by coasting along the African shores and crossing over to it, was practically demonstrated. Vasco da Gama was at first well received in Calicut and obtained an audience from the Zamorin or king of Malabar, to whom he had brought letters from his own sovereign; but as these letters were not accompanied by rich presents, they made very little impression upon the Indian monarch. In short, the first welcome given to Vasco da Gama and his companions was soon changed to coldness, and the Portuguese commander returned, after a forced sojourn of a few days on shore (where he had been retained against his will by the intrigues of the kotwal, or governor, of the town) to his fleet, and, having received from the Zamorin a letter for the king of Portugal, set sail for that country on the 29th August of the same year, taking with him some natives and various natural products of the country. In the course of his return voyage Vasco da Gama discovered, on the Malabar coast, the island of Angediva, which still belongs to Portugal. He arrived at Lisbon with the news of the important discovery, which was destined to produce a complete revolution in the commerce of Europe, to raise the political importance of Portugal to the highest pitch, and to procure for its sovereign the title of Lord of the conquest, navigation and commerce of Ethiopia, Persia and India!

The King, D. Manuel, at once, in 1500, despatched to India a fleet of thirteen sail, commanded by Pedro Alvares Cabral, who had orders to establish a factory at Calicut, and was accompanied by a number of monks who were to preach Christianity to the Hindus. He arrived in Calicut with only six ships, four of the others having been lost in the region of the Cape of Good Hope, whilst of the three remaining vessels one reached Portugal, where also another afterwards carried the news of the discovery of Brazil, and the third, separated from the fleet beyond the Cape, strayed, through the ignorance of the pilot, into the Red Sea and returned with difficulty.

322 *Historical Sketch of Portuguese India.*

The influential people of Calicut received Pedro Alvares Cabral with the same false professions of amity, and the same dissimulation as had already disgusted Vasco da Gama. This time, however, matters culminated in a brawl with the mob, in which Ayres Correia, the factor of Calicut, was barbarously murdered, with all the Portuguese who happened to be on shore. When Cabral arrived with some people from the ships, it was too late; he could not save his countrymen, but he had the mournful satisfaction of wreaking his vengeance upon the town. Seeing that the Zamorin took no measures to chastise the assassins, Cabral set fire to all the vessels in port with their cargoes, and, having bombarded the town for a whole day, sailed with his fleet to Cochin, where he arrived on the 24th December.

The Chief of Cochin was pleased with the arrival of the Portuguese fleet, entered into negotiations, and allowed four of its ships to be loaded with pepper. From this port, which became afterwards celebrated, Cabral sailed to Cananore (the chief of which, as well as that of Quilon, had sent him ambassadors to Cochin), where he anchored on the 15th January 1501, and, having loaded his ships with four thousand quintals* of spices, made sail for Portugal, where he arrived safely. João da Nova then sailed to India and discovered the island of Ascension, as well as another which he called after his own name. He landed on the Malabar coast at Cananore and established a factory there, as Pedro Alves had already done at Cochin. After a hot fight with the fleet of Calicut he returned to Portugal, discovering in the course of his voyage the island of St. Helena, which became afterwards the resort of the Portuguese Indian galleys on account of its excellent water.

The admiral D. Vasco da Gama returned a second time to India in 1502 with a powerful fleet, and bombarded Calicut, where he took many vessels belonging to the natives, and, having loaded some of his own with spices, returned to Portugal, leaving Vicente Sodré with a flotilla to cruise along the coasts of India. The latter, however, lost many of his people and ships on an island near the straits of the Red Sea.

When Francisco de Albuquerque, commander of one of the three fleets which sailed in 1503 from Lisbon to the East, arrived in Cochin, he found the king much embarrassed by a war which the Zamorin was waging against him on account of the friendship he had manifested towards the Portuguese. Accordingly the Portuguese commander easily induced him to allow a fort to be built for the defence of his own kingdom in the town of Cochin itself. This fort was forthwith constructed by the aid of another fleet that

* One quintal makes 128 English pounds.

arrived shortly afterwards in command of the great Affonso de Albuquerque. During this, his first sojourn in the East, he established the Portuguese factory at Quilon, it being the third founded by them in those parts, not counting that of Calicut, which existed only one day.

Passing over the prowess displayed by Duarte Pacheco in the defence of Cochin, the victories he gained over the Zamorin, the aid he afforded to the factory of Quilon, and other services done by him to his country; passing over also the bravery of the new commander Lopo Soares, who bombarded Calicut more than once, and fought at Cranganore and Pandarano with the fleets of the Zamorin, we proceed to narrate the events which took place during the incumbency of D. Francisco de Almeida, the illustrious first Viceroy of India:—He embarked at Lisbon in the month of March 1505, commanding a fleet of twenty-two sail, carrying one thousand five hundred soldiers, many of whom were nobles. After some exploits on the east coast of Africa, he landed at Angediva, where he built a fort according to the instructions he had received. In this small island D. Francisco received the ambassadors of the chief of Onore, as well as proposals of amity from other Moslem chiefs of the vicinity, and, seeing the works of the fort in a sufficiently advanced state, he left the command of Angediva to Manuel Pezanha, who had arrived from Portugal, and sailed to the port of Onore. Meeting there with the same treachery that his predecessors had experienced at Calicut and other ports of this coast, he burnt all the ships he found in the harbour, not, however, without encountering a furious resistance on the part of the natives. Then D. Francisco sailed with his fleet to Cananore, where he had an interview with the chief of the country, and, having obtained permission to construct a fort, he began the work with all possible alacrity and the aid of Lourenzo de Brito, who had been appointed to the post and sent out from Portugal.

In conformity with his instructions D. Francisco assumed the title of Viceroy at Cananore. Shortly afterwards, hearing at Cochin the sad news that all the Portuguese residing in the factory at Quilon had been assassinated, he at once despatched his own son, D. Lourenzo de Almeida, with a flotilla to avenge this offence, and learnt a few days afterwards that his orders had been executed by the burning of all the vessels in the port of Quilon with the majority of their crews.

D. Francisco crowned, in the name of D. Manuel, King of Portugal, the son of the old King of Cochin, within the precincts of the fort of that town, and then despatched some loaded ships to Portugal, the captain of one of which, being the first who sailed from India to Europe outside the channel of Mozambique, discovered also the island of Madagascar.

324 *Historical Sketch of Portuguese India.*

D. Lourenzo de Almeida, who commanded the fleet of cruisers along the coast, destroyed the ships of the Zamorin near Cananore; brought relief to Angediva, the defenders of which had been heroically contending for a long time against the Moslems who had besieged the fort. Thence he sailed to reconnoitre the Maldive islands and Ceylon, and brought the information to the Viceroy that they would be suitable as stations for watering and refitting the vessels of Malacca and Sumatra. Having brought this dangerous mission to a successful termination, he returned to Cochin, where he prepared himself for new adventures and combats.

The fleet which sailed to India in 1506 was commanded by Tristão da Cunha, who chastised certain Muhammadan chiefs on the east coast of Africa, inimical to the Portuguese, paid a visit to the island of Madagascar, and co-operated with the great Affonso de Albuquerque, who was cruising along the coast near Cape Guardafui, in the conquest of the island of Socotrâ. Arriving on the Malabar coast, he succoured the fort of Cananore which the new king of that country had attacked with such obstinacy that he reduced the Portuguese factory to the last extremity. Thence he sailed to Cochin in order to procure cargoes for the ships which he was to take to Portugal; but, learning that the Viceroy was about to attack some ship of Mekkah which had gone ashore at Panane, a harbour in the dominions of the Zamorin, he desired to accompany him in that expedition, and returned to Portugal only after having participated in the victory.

Meanwhile, in the year 1507, three fleets sailed from Lisbon to India; and the Viceroy, D. Francisco de Almeida, having learned that the maintenance of the fort of Angediva would be more expensive than its utility warranted, caused it to be razed. At the same time Affonso de Albuquerque explored the coast and the Sea of Arabia as far as the Persian Gulf, and conquered Ormuz. Shortly afterwards young D. Lourenzo de Almeida gloriously perished on the bar of Chaul, fighting, with his few ships against a large Moslem fleet, and Affonso de Albuquerque having been appointed governor of India, Jorge de Aguiar took his place as commander of the fleet at the mouth of the Red Sea.

Albuquerque met the viceroy at Cananore to take charge of the government, but D. Francisco refused to surrender his power before he had avenged the death of his son, and sailed with the whole fleet in search of the Musulmâns. The first locality on which the fierce warrior vented his rage was Dabul, which he levelled to the ground, and after robbing, slaughtering and burning everything and everybody, he left the opulent town a deserted heap of ruins! Thence he sailed to Chaul, the chief of which place, trembling with fear, became tributary to Portugal,

Sailing to Diu, the Viceroy encountered the united fleets of Melik Iyar and Mir Húshem, who had been the cause of his son's death, and destroyed them. Returning to Cochin, D. Francisco levied tribute from vassal-chiefs, and, strangely enough, would not surrender the government of India to Affonso de Albuquerque till he was captured and sent prisoner to the fort of Cananore. Whilst the contest between the partisans of the Viceroy and his successor still continued, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, who commanded a fleet of discovery to Malacca, arrived, and in his company the celebrated but disloyal navigator, Fernão de Magalhães, who afterwards tried to deprive the Portuguese of the Moluccas in order to deliver them to the King of Spain. Diogo Lopes, unwilling to be mixed up in the contentions about the viceroyalty in Malabar, continued his voyage and discovered the large island of Sumatra, and, landing afterwards in Malacca, concluded a treaty with the king and established a Portuguese factory, which was however at once burnt by the people of the town. Not having sufficient forces to avenge the misdeed, he returned to Portugal, where he arrived safely in 1510.

In March 1509 a fleet of fifteen sail, commanded by D. Francisco Continho, set out from Lisbon, with instructions to instal Affonso de Albuquerque. Having arrived at Cananore, D. Francisco took with him the future founder of the Portuguese empire in the East to Cochin, where D. Francisco de Almeida at once surrendered the government to him. Shortly afterwards the deposed Viceroy embarked on his voyage to Portugal, but never reached that country, being killed by the natives while the ships were taking in water at a place called Agoada de Saldanha, on the east coast of Africa. D. Francisco Continho and the new governor now attacked with one thousand eight hundred troops the town of Calicut, which was reduced to ashes; not, however, without great loss to the Portuguese, D. Francisco Continho himself being among the slain. Returning to Cochin, Affonso de Albuquerque sent reinforcements to the fort of Socotrâ, and got ready for undertaking a new warlike expedition.

Goa then became the theatre of Portuguese valour, and was conquered by Affonso de Albuquerque, but again abandoned in consequence of the great power of A'dil Khan, who besieged the town, which, however, on the 25th November 1510, fell definitively into the power of the Portuguese. After having taken Goa from the Musalmâns, Affonso de Albuquerque encountered much opposition in establishing an administration and settling a Christian population; his genius, however, triumphed over all difficulties, and he made Goa the capital of Portuguese India. During the above named year the fort of Socotrâ was

dismantled by an order from the Court of Portugal, which did not consider it worth maintaining, and on the 2nd May of the next year this governor sailed with a large fleet to conquer Malacca.

Affonso de Albuquerque captured five Guzerati ships during his voyage, and, on reaching the island of Sumatra, landed first at Pedir, and then at Pacem, and was well received by the chiefs of both those ports. When the governor arrived in Malacca, he demanded prompt satisfaction for the insults received there by Diogo Lopes, and, not obtaining any, he assaulted the town, but was obliged again to return to his ships, in spite of the prodigies of bravery he had performed. In a second attempt, however, he was more successful, and subjected a portion of the island to the sway of Portugal; he established an administration in the town, to which he, with singular good tact, appointed natives of the various nationalities which inhabited it. He received embassies from the kings of Java and Siam, despatched envoys of his own to Pegu, had the Molucca and Banda islands reconnoitred, and returned to India at the beginning of the year 1512, leaving Ruy de Brito Patalim to be the first captain of Malacca.

Whilst the great Albuquerque was absent in Malacca, Goa was besieged by a Musalmán army, and reduced to the last extremity; its valorous defenders, however, did not give way, and were relieved by reinforcements which arrived with a fleet from Portugal in 1511.

The ship of Albuquerque was wrecked on the coast of Sumatra, but he, with the whole crew, embarked in another vessel and arrived safely at Cochin. Having there transacted business concerning this and other forts of India, and having also despatched ships laden with pepper to Europe, the governor sailed to Goa, which was again threatened by the forces of the Sultán of Bejapur, took possession of the fort of Benasterim, which capitulated, and raised the siege of Goa. Negotiations with the Zamorin of Calicut ensued, and Albuquerque also received an ambassador from the king of Abyssinia, or *Preste-João*, as the Portuguese called him, as well as envoys from the chiefs of Ormuz, Narsinga, Cambay, and from Melik Yaz, the commander of Diu.

Having made all the necessary arrangements for the defence of Goa, Albuquerque ordered the construction of a fort at Calicut under an arrangement with the Zamorin, and appointed Francisco Nogueira captain of it. The governor then embarked with his best troops in a fleet of twenty ships, and sailed to the straits of Bab-el-mandeb in February 1513. Before reaching them, however, he attacked Aden, escalading its walls with one thousand Portuguese and four hundred Malabarais, but met with such obstinate resistance from the Arabs, that he retired to his ships after

having suffered a considerable loss of men. He desired to attack the town again and to capture it, but the season for entering the Red Sea, to navigate which was his chief intention, having almost elapsed, he abandoned Aden and entered the straits.

Struggling with the difficulties of a perilous navigation unknown to the pilots, Albuquerque entered the straits of the Red Sea, but was unable to reach the port of Jeddah as he had intended. After various attempts, which proved fruitless on account of unfavourable winds, the fleet reached the island of Kámrán where it wintered, laden as it was with the spoils of numerous Musalmán vessels which the Portuguese had captured, plundered and burnt. The west-winds had, however, scarcely set in, when the fleet departed from Kámrán and landed at Mejúm (Perim) at the mouth of the straits. There Albuquerque erected a large cross as a sign that he had taken possession of everything in the straits beyond this island, the name of which he changed to *Vera Cruz*. He then cast anchor near Aden, whence he despatched Ruy Galvão, with João Gomes, to reconnoitre the town of Zeilah on the African coast, an errand which they successfully accomplished and rejoined him. Aden being, however, now even more strongly fortified than when the Portuguese had first attacked it, a council was held at which it was decided not to assault it, but the bombardment resolved upon caused great havoc among the shipping in the harbour, nearly the whole of which was destroyed. The fleet sailed on the 4th August to India; and, landing at Diu, Albuquerque had an interview with Melik Yaz, in which he agreed to receive a Portuguese factor who would superintend the loading of a ship which was there for the purpose of receiving cargo. From Diu, Albuquerque sailed to Chaul, where he captured several Musalmán ships, and at last arrived at Goa.

Meanwhile, the Portuguese of the port and town of Malacca were engaged in constant struggles, and whilst the commander of those seas defeated Javanese fleets, the governor of the town had to defend the walls of the town against the Malays. Fortune, however, smiled upon the great Albuquerque. His envoys to Siam and to Pegu, as well as the captains whom he had charged to visit the Molucca islands, returned together to Goa with the triumphant army of Fernão Peres de Andrade, who scoured the seas of Malacca and cleared them of enemies. The prudent governor was, however, not always bent on new conquests, but, desiring to maintain those already made, visited the forts of India during an interval of peace, to see how they were governed. He sailed to Cananore, where he remained several days, and then passed on to Calicut to inspect the fort in progress there. He also remained

a short time in Cochin, and then returned to Goa to make preparations for a new expedition during the winter. Meanwhile he despatched his nephew Pero de Albuquerque, with four vessels, to the straits of the Red Sea, in order to capture vessels coming from Suez or Mekkah, and to proceed in the beginning of the monsoon to Ormuz to receive the tribute due there, and report on the state of the fort which Albuquerque had begun to build in that island, and lastly to discover the island of Bahrain in the Persian Gulf. When Pero de Albuquerque navigated to the straits, Diogo Fernandes de Bejo departed with an embassy to the Sultán of Guzerat, or king of Cambay, as the Portuguese preferred to call that sovereign, in order to obtain permission to erect a fort in Diu. At the same time also Joao Gonzalves de Castello Branco went to propose to the Sultán of Bejapur that he should exchange a portion of the mainland belonging to him for permission to receive Persian horses into his dominions, which trade the Portuguese considered to be contraband except in Goa, their own port. From this proposal an idea may be formed of the power they already arrogated to themselves along the coasts of India at that time.

In September 1514, the ships annually due from Lisbon arrived in Goa, and, when they had been loaded with spices in Cochin, again sailed home. Albuquerque fitted out a fleet of twenty-seven sail, with which he departed from Goa on the 21st February 1515, and, after touching at Maskat, anchored at Ormuz on the 26th March. There he again took possession of the fort which the Musalmáns had occupied during his absence, made the necessary arrangements for its defence and appointed Pero de Albuquerque its commandant. Being very ill, he resolved to return to Goa, where Lopo Soares, his successor in the government of India, had already arrived; but, although Albuquerque reached the capital, he did not go on shore, but expired on the 16th December 1515, on board the same vessel in which he had sailed from Ormuz.

Lopo Soares de Albergaria, or Alvarenga, arrived with one thousand five hundred combatants, many of whom belonged to the highest nobility of Portugal. His arrival in the East was, however, coincident with the return to Portugal of all the brave and disinterested cavaliers of the school of D. Francisco de Almeida and Albuquerque. After this period the conquerors applied themselves with much diligence to the acquisition of wealth, and their chivalry vanished.

As soon as Lopo Soares had provided for the necessities of the forts on the Malabar coast, he despatched a fleet to Ormuz, and another to China, and prepared a large one in which he intended to sail up the Red Sea, as far as Suez, to attack the ships of the

Sultán of Egypt. He actually departed from Goa in February 1516, and, on arriving at Aden, was received with much civility by the commandant, who offered him the keys of the place. This proceeding is explained by the fact that a fleet of the Sultán had recently paid a visit to Aden and much battered its walls with artillery. The presence of the large fleet of Lopo Soares also contributed to the friendly offer of the Arab commander, which, however, was not accepted, because Lopo Soares was unwilling to divide his forces by leaving a garrison in the fort, though he intended to take possession of it on his return from the Red Sea. Lopo Soares now entered the straits and touched at the island of Kamarán, where he found that four of his ships were missing. As he had obtained information from a Venetian barque he had met, that the fleet of the Sultán was in the port of Jeddah, he sailed there, but, the entrance to the harbour being difficult, and the booty to be obtained in the town slender, probably because the inhabitants had removed their wealth to a place of security, a council of the captains was held and the decision arrived at, that neither a descent upon the town, nor an attempt to burn the fleet of the Sultán should be made. Lopo Soares agreed in this decision and ordered the fleet to sail immediately to Kámrán and winter there. As soon as the weather allowed, the fleet cruised about in search of the exit from the straits of the Red Sea and cast anchor at Zeilah, which Lopo Soares destroyed by fire, on the pretext that its inhabitants had greatly favoured the ships of the Sultán, but most probably from disgust at the bootless expedition he had undertaken. Returning to Aden, he found that the commander had changed his mind and was unwilling to become tributary to Portugal. Finding also that his forces were not capable of taking the fort, that his provisions, which were running short, could not be replaced by fresh ones, and that even his water was giving out, he determined to sail with all speed to the port of Barbora, but a terrible storm dispersed the ships, all of which perished with their crews, except that of Lopo Soares, who arrived safely in it at Ormuz. Such was the miserable fate of this piratic expedition! That year, however, was disastrous to the Portuguese by land also, as the people of Goa, who had made an incursion upon the continent, were driven back with great loss and besieged. The garrison of Malacca was in the same plight, and suffered not only the miseries of a siege, but also those of famine. As soon as the governor reached India, he met the forces which had recently arrived from Europe, and sent reinforcements in various directions. He despatched a ship to the Maldivé islands, and a small fleet commanded by Antonio de Saldanha to the coast of Arabia, and burnt the town of Barbora, near the harbour of Zeilah.

In September 1518 the governor sailed with a fleet of seventeen ships from Cochin to Ceylon, with the intention of building a fort there. On his arrival he met with resistance, and, disembarking at Colombo with his troops, attacked the natives, devastating their possessions with fire and sword, to establish Portuguese supremacy. Shortly afterwards he accepted proposals of peace from the sovereign of the island, who became a tributary to Portugal, and with the aid of the workmen he had sent, the building of the fort was promptly completed in the month of November of the same year. Duarte de Coelho concluded peace in the name of the King of Portugal with the monarch of Siam, whilst Fernao Peres de Andrade scoured the seas of China and cast anchor at Canton.

His term of three years of government, which was the usual period—as also that of the captains and most of the officers in the forts of India—having expired, Lopo Soares was relieved of his office by Lopes de Sequeira, the discoverer of Malacca, and former captain of Arzila, and returned to Portugal in January 1519. The new governor immediately began taking energetic measures to carry out the instructions which the king had given him. He despatched João Gomes Cheira-dinheiro to the Maldives in order to construct a fort in the principal island; then he proceeded in person to quell the disturbances of Baticalá, and compelled its governor to pay the tribute he owed. He also despatched Antonio Saldanha with a fleet to cruise on the Arabian coast, and to winter in Ormuz. He sent Simão de Andrade, brother of Fernão Peres, as commander of a fleet to China, and charged Antonio Correia to conclude peace with the king of Pegu. The town of Malacca being much disquieted by its turbulent neighbours, especially by the king of Bintam, Diogo Lopes hastened to send reinforcements there, which arrived just in time to enable the defenders to become aggressors, and to chastise those who had attacked Malacca by sea, as well as some chiefs of the island of Sumatra, who had done so by land.

On the 13th February 1520 the governor set out in person at the head of three thousand combatants, consisting of Portuguese and natives, with ten large ships, two galleons, five galleys, two chartered ships, two Latin carravels and one brigantine, with the intention of sailing up the Red Sea, erecting a fort in one of its islands, and destroying the Turkish fleet. The first of these intentions could not be realised, because no materials were at hand for building, or provision made for victualling a fort in the island of Massowa, where the fleet was anchored for some time; as to the second, its execution was impossible, because no Turks could be found. The governor nevertheless profited by this

opportunity in the best way he could and made a treaty of peace with the king of Abyssinia in the port of Arquico, through his chief captain, to whom he also entrusted an ambassador to his sovereign from the king of Portugal, namely, D. Rodrigo de Lima with thirteen persons in his suite, as well as the envoy from Abyssinia who had been in Goa, and was there known by the name of Padre Matheus.

After wintering in Ormuz with a portion of his fleet, Diogo Lopes returned to India, despatched laden ships to Portugal, and got a fleet ready to attack Diu. Meanwhile, Ruy de Mello, captain of Goa, succeeded in obtaining possession of a portion of the continent adjoining the island, whilst the king of Narsinga and the Sultán of Bejapur were waging war against each other and had no opportunity to interfere. Captain Lopo de Brito, in the fort of Ceylon, was less successful, having been five months besieged by great numbers of Hindus and Musalmáns, and being almost ready to capitulate when reinforcements from Cochin reached him.

In the very beginning of 1521 the governor sailed with a great army to Diu, bent on attacking the town. Considering, however, the state of defence in which he found the harbour, and the votes of all the captains of the fleet, he desisted from his undertaking, wintered at Ormuz, and despatched ships on various expeditions according to the orders he had received from Portugal.

Jorge de Albuquerque went to Pacem for the purpose of installing on the throne the heir of the legitimate king, who had fled to India to escape being assassinated, as his father had been. Jorge de Albuquerque made the new monarch a tributary of the Portuguese crown, erected a fort on the bar of the river, and went to Malacca, whence he sent Antonio de Brito to the Molucca islands in order to build a fort at Ternate; but Antonio de Abreu was the first, who had by order of Affonso de Albuquerque, conquered these islands of Oceania, and gradually visited Amboyna, Banda, Ternate, Jidore, and others, meeting with a friendly reception at the hands of the natives in all of them. Others met with the same success in those regions after him, and Antonio de Brito likewise, although a Spanish factory had already been established at Ternate, where he laid the foundations of the fort of S. João Baptista de Ternate on the 24th June 1522. At that time, however, D. Duarte de Menezes governed India, his predecessor Diogo Lopes having departed to Europe after commencing the erection of a fort at Chaul, of which he appointed Henrique de Menezes the first commander.

The new governor at once began the business of administration with activity and prudence, in conformity with the instructions he

332 *Historical Sketch of Portuguese India.*

had brought from the Court of Portugal. On the pretext that the income of the State in Ormuz was being robbed, the king of Portugal determined to appoint his own officers to take charge of the custom-house of the town ; but the sovereign of the country, to whom this great zeal for his interests appeared suspicious, ordered his officious protectors to be attacked in the night, and many of them perished fighting, whilst the rest sought refuge in the fort. When, however, the Musalmáns saw that, in spite of the siege by water and by land to which they had subjected the fort, they were unable to get rid of a handful of Portuguese, they set that famous and once wealthy town on fire, and emigrated to the adjoining much larger island of Kishim. D. Luiz de Menezes, who arrived with reinforcements sent by the governor of India, succeeded in again making peace with the king of Ormuz, and delivering the few defenders of the fort from the imminent peril in which they were placed.

About this time also the portion of the mainland near Goa, which Ruy de Mello had taken a few years before, was lost, and the governor was yet unwilling to recover it, because of the peace which subsisted between the Sultán of Bejapur and the Portuguese. Nor was Martin Affonso de Mello Continho more successful in the expedition he undertook in 1522 for the purpose of erecting a fort in China. He met with such a reception from the fleets of the Celestial Empire, that he remained scarcely a fortnight in those seas. D. Saúcho Henriques fared still worse, and many of his people lost their lives fighting against the king of Bintam, who was likewise victorious in combating the Portuguese. During the same year also the foundations of the town of S. Thomé, at a short distance from ancient Meliápúr, on the Coromandel Coast, were laid by the Portuguese.

In 1524 the Count and Admiral D. Vasco da Gama arrived, with the title of Viceroy of India. He brought orders to raze the forts of Quilon, Ceylon, Calicut and Pacem, and to build one in Sunda, but could not execute them, as he died three months and twenty days after again obtaining sight of the coast of India, which he had discovered twenty-seven years before.

His successor, D. Henrique de Menezes, burnt places belonging to the Zamorin, such as Panane and Coulete, which incensed him so much against the Portuguese in the fort of Calicut, that its defenders were obliged to destroy it, after suffering great hardships, and seek safety in flight. About this time D. Rodrigo de Lima returned from Abyssinia, accompanied by an ambassador whom the sovereign of that country had sent to the king of Portugal.

The town of Malacca had, from the day of its conquest, enjoyed

but few intervals of tranquillity, and had also suffered reverses, chiefly at the hands of the king of Bintam. At last, however, Pero Mascarenhas assumed the offensive and destroyed his town. In the Molucca Islands, too, war broke out. Jidore was destroyed by the captain of Ternate, and the Portuguese were alternately at war with the natives, and with the Spaniards, who desired to obtain possession of these islands.

Passing over in silence the contest between Pero Mascarenhas and Lopo Vaz de Sampaio for the right of governing India, as well as the prowess of the latter by sea, and the aid afforded by him to the Portuguese establishment in Ceylon, we take notice of the arrival in Ormuz of the new governor of India, Nuno da Cunha, after having spread dismay along the coast of Eastern Africa. When he arrived in Ormuz, the irritation was great in the island, but he succeeded in calming it and maintaining Portuguese supremacy. He met there also Captain Belchior de Sousa Tavares, who had sailed up the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, and was returning from Bozrah, where he caused the Portuguese arms to be feared. Being informed that every thing was at peace in those regions, Nuno da Cunha sailed to India, whence he sent his predecessor, Lopo Vaz de Sampaio, a prisoner to Portugal. He then provided for the necessities of the strongholds in Malabar, pursued the foes of the Portuguese by sea and by land, and spread terror along the coast of Guzerat through his Captain Antonio da Silveira. Some important towns, such as Surat, Reirer and Agacim, were first sacked and then burnt by the Portuguese.

Whilst Heitor da Silveira resolved to make Aden tributary to Portugal, Nuno da Cunha undertook an expedition to Diu. In his voyage he touched at Damaon, the port of which had long been abandoned by its Portuguese garrison, and was now held by the Sultán of Guzerat. He exterminated the inhabitants of the island of Beth, where he had met with furious resistance, and which was then surnamed the island of the dead. On arriving at Diu he commenced to bombard the town, but was obliged to desist, because some of the best guns he had brought burst, and because the place was better defended than he had supposed. He then built a fort in the harbour of Challeh with the consent of the Zamorin in whose possessions it was; and its first captain was Diogo Pereira (1531). He also sent Diogo da Silveira to burn and destroy the towns of Patane, Pate and Mangalore. At that time conflagrations, plunder and slaughter accompanied the Portuguese wherever they set foot; and their name became execrable in consequence. In 1533 the town of Bassein succumbed in its turn, and was entered and destroyed by Nuno da Cunha, who razed it to its foundations. Afterwards the Sultán

334 *Historical Sketch of Portuguese India.*

of Guzerat ceded the island on which the town was situated, together with the adjacent mainland, to the King of Portugal. The next year the fort of Damaon was razed by Martim Affonso de Sousa, the captain of the Indian seas, and shortly afterwards the fort of Diu was built in accordance with a treaty between the governor of India and the Sultán of Guzerat. This success gave occasion for the daring feat of Diogo Botelho Pereira, who carried the good news to the king of Portugal, and arrived from India in a very small vessel. The new fort of Bassein was begun on the same occasion.

Nuno da Cunha recovered the mainland adjacent to Goa, whilst Martim Affonso de Sousa, on his part, chastised the sovereign of Calicut; but the same good luck failed the Portuguese in Malacca and in the Molucca islands, where their blood was shed not only by foes, but by themselves in the inglorious contests with each other in which they indulged. The fort of Diu was likewise in great jeopardy. Its captain, Manuel de Sousa, having been killed by the Moslems, and their Sultán Bahádur Sháh in his turn by the Portuguese, Antonio da Silveira de Menezes took the command of the fort, and had to endure a close siege by water and by land, in which the forces of the Turkish Pasha Suleimán were united to those of Guzerat, commanded by Khájah Sufur or Já'far, till at last the siege was raised and peace concluded when D. Garcia de Noronha, the new Viceroy, went in person to Diu.

Antonio Gulvão, who was at that time governing the Molucca Islands, founded a seminary to instruct the youth of that archipelago (1536), and sent missionaries to convert the polytheists of Celebes and Macassar, and the ship in which they sailed, with Captain Francisco de Castro, being thrown out of its route by a storm, caused him to discover the yet unknown islands of Mindanan in 1540, while it was only three years afterwards that Bernardo de Torre again found them. In 1540 also the Franciscan Vicente de Lagos established the college of St. Thiago at Cranganore for the purpose of educating the children of Hindu converts to Christianity; and in 1541 the seminary of Santa Fé at Goa, afterwards transformed into a Jesuit college, was founded.

D. Estevão da Gama, the successor of D. Garcia in the government of India, sailed with a large fleet to the Red Sea, and after various successes in different places on those shores, he left many noble cavaliers in the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, despatched his own brother D. Christovão with four hundred soldiers to the king of Ethiopia (Abyssinia), a great friend of the sovereign of Portugal, to be his body-guard (1541), and intended also to invest Suez, but, finding from the state of defence in which that harbour was, that he would meet with great resistance, he

returned to India in order to despatch the usual laden ships to Europe, and to prepare himself for a new campaign.

Japan was discovered in 1542 by three Portuguese, Antonio Mota, Francisco Zeimoto and Antonio Peixoto, who traded in a small junk to the port of Chinchen, and were thrown by a typhoon among that archipelago. At that time the Portuguese had already a provisional establishment in China, namely, at Liampo or Ningpó, whence they were expelled. Those who had not perished in 1542 went then to Chinchen in the same empire, and afterwards, in 1542, to Macao, which the Chinese Government had ceded them.

Martim Affonso de Sousa, who was the successor of D. Estevão in the government of India, destroyed the town of Batecala, and committed other mischief in India by sea and by land. In his time the Molucca Islands came altogether into the possession of the King of Portugal, their last sovereign having constituted him his heir; and the same thing took place with the provinces of Bardez and Salsete, on the mainland of India, in 1543, but by a treaty.

During the incumbency of the next governor D. João de Castor, the memorable second siege of Diu took place, its brave commander being D. João Mascarenhas. The governor himself, having arrived with reinforcements, put an end to the siege, and destroyed the chief places along the coast of Cambay. Not long afterwards D. Jorge de Menezes took the town of Broach (1547) whilst Antonio Marla Barreto marched, fighting and conquering, through the island of Ceylon, and D. Diogo de Almeida, the captain of Goa, routed the enemies on the mainland of Salsete. Afterwards João de Castro took the fort of Ponda, despatched his son D. Alvaro to Surat, bombarded the towns of Pate, Patan and Dabul, attacked the province of Salsete and devastated the whole northern coast. Covered with glory and honored with the title of Viceroy, D. João de Castro died at Goa, after having surrendered the government to the Bishop, D. João de Albuquerque.

The government of India being vacant, D. João Mascarenhas was to have taken charge of it first, and then D. Jorge Tello. As they, however, departed to Portugal, a third noble, Garcia de Sa, became governor, but, dying after a short tenure, was succeeded by a fourth, namely, Jorge Cabral.

At this time (1550) envoys from Barcelore arrived in Goa, offering the vassalage of the town, and promised to pay annually 500 fardos* of rice. The Portuguese, however, continued to fight incessantly in Malacca, Ceylon, Ormuz, the Moluccas, and the coast of India became the theatre of perpetual warfare. The

* One *fardo* means forty-two Portuguese pound.

336 *Historical Sketch of Portuguese India.*

defenders of Maskat were, however, unsuccessful, and were, in 1554, compelled to surrender the place to the Turks, who had besieged it. After that D. Constantino de Braganza took the town and fort of Damaon, and still later the town of Jafnapatam. By his orders Luiz de Mello da Silva destroyed also the town of Mangalore, and chastised the population along the coast of Malabar which had conspired against the Portuguese fort of Cananore.

Henceforth the glory of the Portuguese in India began steadily to decline, and D. Luiz de Athaide soon found that several kings of India had entered into a league to oppose them. They besieged Chaul, Goa, Onore, which the Portuguese defended bravely, but the garrison of Challeh was compelled to surrender. After that the Court of Portugal came to the determination to divide Portuguese India into three governments, appointing D. Antonio de Noronha over the countries situated between Cape Guardafu, and the island of Ceylon ; Antonio Moniz Barreto over a portion of Pegu as far as China, and Francisco Barreto over the eastern coast of Africa. This division lasted, however, but a short time, and the government of all the eastern possessions of Portugal continued to be administered by one viceroy until the captaincy of Sofala and Mozambique was detached from the Government of India.

The following were the chief forts that hoisted at this time the Portuguese standard in the East :—Diu, Damaon, Goa, Bassein, Chaul, Onore, Barcelore, Mangalore, Cananore Cranganore, Colombo, Cochin, Coriate, Calaiate, Ormuz, Malacca, Ternate, Tidore, Amboyna, Salore, Timore and Macao.

In 1518 the inhabitants of Barcelore made a treacherous attempt to take the fort of that name, but it was succoured in time by the reinforcement which the Viceroy sent, and continued under Portuguese jurisdiction. In 1584 a Portuguese custom-house was established at Cochin, after serious resistance on the part of the inhabitants. In 1585 a new fort was built at Panane, a harbour of the Zamorin, the first captain of which was Ruy Gonzalves de Camara. In 1586 the number of the judges in the supreme court of judicature at Goa was augmented, new appointments of magistrates were made, and men of education installed as comptrollers or auditors (ouvidores) in the forts. In this year also the ship "S. Filippe," which was returning from India with a valuable cargo, was taken near the Azores by the English fleet, commanded by Drake. D. Paulo de Lima, the Captain of Malacca, entered and destroyed the town of Jor, but the fort of Colombo underwent a close siege, and was bravely defended by its captain, João Correia de Brito.

In 1594 the Portuguese took a Moslem fort called "Morro de Chaul," opposite the town of that name, because it incommoded

and commanded the Portuguese fort with its artillery. In 1596 D. João Perea Pandor, the king of Ceylon, died, but, he having made the king of Portugal his heir, the latter was proclaimed sovereign of the whole island in the town of Colombo.

At this time the Hollanders already began to infest the Indian seas and to harass the fort of Malacca, but encountered heroic resistance on the part of the Portuguese. While hostilities continued in the East, the provident Government of Lisbon authorised the viceroys and governors to bestow dowries upon noble girls whose fathers had fallen in combat. In 1595 a custom-house was established at Damaon ; and Furtado Mendonza inaugurated the beginning of the seventeenth century by his famous victory over, and capture of, the pirate "Cunhale," a rebellious vassal of the Zamorin, who was afterwards beheaded at Goa. Immediately afterwards Salvador Ribeiro de Sousa, who had been proclaimed king of Pegu, at the demand of the king of Portugal, surrendered the fort of Sirião to an envoy of the Viceroy and abandoned his possessions ; this, however, proved to be a political error of the Portuguese Government, for which it was punished by again losing the fort, together with its Captain Filippe de Brito Nicote (in 1613).

By an agreement between the Viceroy of India and the Nawáb, the first Portuguese factor was in 1611 appointed at Surat. When D. Jeronimo de Azevado became Viceroy in 1612 and left Ceylon, which he had governed eighteen years, the greater portion of that island was subject to Portugal. D. Jeronimo brought immense wealth to Goa, which he spent with the liberality of a prince, but he was not very happy in his new government.

The English now made their appearance before Surat with one ship and a patacho (small vessel) only, but the captain of the port could effect nothing against them, although he attacked them with four galleys, their men being well trained and their artillery good, whilst his were mostly ignorant Malays, and his guns few. The decadence of the Portuguese in the East had now become so evident and palpable, that even the most incredulous and blind could perceive it. Antonio Pinto da Fonseca, who had been expressly sent from Europe to inspect the forts of India, found everything in the greatest disorder, and Antonio Burreto da Silva, who proceeded as ouvidor (auditor and comptroller) to Malacca, found most of the artillery of the place dismantled, and the inhabitants divided into factions, in arms, and doing each other more harm than they had ever suffered from the Hollanders, the Achinese, the Javanese or the Malays. In 1613 the ambassador of the Shah of Persia, who had returned from his mission to Portugal, arrived, and in his company D. fr. Antonio de Gouveia,

338 *Historical Sketch of Portuguese India.*

the first bishop of Sirene, who was vested with the charge of the Christian flock of Persia, but who never went beyond the fort of Ormuz, on account of news he had received from the missionaries of Persia who were suffering persecution in that country.

The contests in the vicinity of Chaul and Bassein continued, and the captain of the latter place courageously defended himself in the fort, and afterwards carried fire and sword into the surrounding country. The town of Gogo in the peninsula of Cambay, was taken and destroyed by the Portuguese in 1614, and the towns of Pore, forty leagues from Diu, of Broach and of Barbute, shared the same fate.

The fleet which arrived in 1615, brought the strange decision that all Government posts should be sold, and the money thus obtained applied to public purposes. At that time social morality was already low enough, but it reached its worst depth when the doors of preferment were opened to money only, and closed to merit and honorable emulation.

Sebastião Gonçalves Tiban, desirous of reconquering Pegu, obtained reinforcements from the Viceroy of India and burnt the fleet of the king of Arracan in 1615, but, having been taken prisoner in the island of Sunda, expiated his cruelties on the scaffold. In the same year the fort of Cranganore suffered a close siege, which was raised by D. Bernardo de Noronha; at the same time D. Diogo de Sousa burnt in the port of Calicut a ship laden with rich merchandise belonging to the Zamorin. In 1616 Ruy Dias de Sampaio was charged to restore peace at Meliapur, where it had been shamefully disturbed by the Portuguese inhabitants, who fought against each other with the obstinacy of sworn enemies. Shortly afterwards, also, the instigators of the rivalries between the people of Chaul and Bassein, and among the inhabitants of Tarapur and Tannah were chastised. In connexion with these internal troubles, the Portuguese arms suffered all kinds of reverses both by sea and by land, during this unhappy epoch, in which the power of the English and of the Dutch fleets increased, and contributed to the decay of the Portuguese. In this manner Ormuz was lost for ever in 1622.

The moral gangrene of Portuguese India had now made such progress, that not even the capital punishments to which some of the first nobility had been condemned for extortion, brutality, or cowardice, could arrest its march. In 1622 and 1623 even the elements appear to have conspired against the fleets of Malabar; in 1624, however, the Portuguese again fought victoriously in the Persian Gulf under the famous Captains, Nuno Alvares Botelho and Ruy Freire de Andrade, as well as afterwards on the Malacca coast again, under the command of Botelho,

one of the last heroes of India. In the same year, on the 12th May, the Portuguese took possession of the island of Cambolim, which was ceded to them by the sovereign of Canara. But in 1633 they lost Golim (Hooghly) in the kingdom of Bengal, and all who dwelt in that flourishing settlement were slain by the troops of the Mogul emperor; a few years afterwards (in 1639), however, when one of his powerful armies besieged Damaon, the Portuguese repulsed it after a sanguinary combat. The successes were, however, now getting rare in comparison to the reverses of fortune; the golden periods of the Albuquerque, of the Pachecos, and of the Cunhas had totally disappeared.

Malacca followed the destiny of Ormuz; its Captain, Manuel de Sousa Continho, yielded to the combined forces of the Hollanders and the subjects of the king of Pam, and surrendered the place in 1641, after a siege of twenty-five months, which he resisted with heroic bravery. At the same time the news arrived in Goa that some Portuguese had been killed in Japan, and that commerce in that archipelago was entirely interrupted. Even the capital of India itself, besieged as it was by the Hollanders, well nigh fell a prey to the destiny that had overtaken the above-mentioned two places which the great Albuquerque had conquered.

Amid the sad decadence of the Portuguese arms, the Holy Inquisition of Goa, not to be surpassed by the atrocities of Japan, lit the flames of persecution, and presented that city in 1650 with the first spectacle of an *auto de fé*, whilst the proud nobility of Portuguese India, with D. Braz de Castro at its head, kindled the torch of rebellion, and seditiously deposed the honest and disinterested Viceroy the Conde de Obedos in 1653. The forts of Malabar, occupied and maintained by the prudence and valour of the first conquerors, began to fall gradually into the hands of the Moslems or the Hollanders. In 1652 Barcelore lowered the Portuguese flag after a long resistance; and Mangalore with Onore in 1653; Colombo surrendered in 1657, its Captain Antonio de Sousa Continho, aged seventy, having within the crumbling walls ninety-four wounded and starving companions. Quilon surrendered in 1658, Cranganore in 1662, Cananore and Cochin in 1663. Lastly, Bombay became a British possession by a treaty dated the 23rd June 1661, and was finally surrendered in 1665.

Meanwhile, the Sultán of Bejapúr invaded the provinces of Bardez and Salsete (1655), and, although repulsed, again invaded them in 1659, but was routed at Margaon by Luiz de Mendonza Furtado. Intestine troubles broke out in Goa, and in 1660 it witnessed the deplorable sight of two factions of ecclesiastics posting themselves in different portions of the city to decide with arquebuses,

340 *Historical Sketch of Portuguese India.*

who was to occupy the vacant seat of the Archbishopric, and to become necessary to quell this rebellion of the priests by military force.

In 1671 the king of Canara allowed the Portuguese to build factories, surrounded by walls, in Onore, Barcelore and Mangalore; in 1678 he again consented to the building not only of factories, but also of Catholic churches at Mirzeo, Chandore, Baticalah and Kaliánpúr; and in 1682 the island of Angediva was fortified.

The maritime commerce of the Portuguese was now annihilated by pirates, whom they had no longer any forces to resist; and as they had always been engaged in warfare, endeavouring to make new conquests, they had never had time to think of agriculture, so that their possessions were uncultivated and poor, and the inhabitants suffered from the petty ambitions of the nobles, the intrigues and squabbles of the friars, the venality of the magistrates, and the general corruption of all the Portuguese. Tax-gatherers stalked from village to village, and from house to house, to procure the means for waging war, and reduced the population to misery. In 1675 the tobacco-monopoly of Goa was established; in 1691 an ephemeral "Commercial Association of India" came into being, and the year 1687 saw in the great island of Borneo the establishment of a factory and mission directed by the clergy, named "da Divina Providencia," who were well received by the natives. Now, however, besides the English and the Hollanders, who captured Portuguese galleons, even the Arabs caused mischief with their ships, and although they had in 1690 received a severe lesson at the bar of Surat from its Captain Diogo de Mello Sampaio, they still frequently attacked Portuguese vessels.

The eighteenth century dawned under happier auspices, and the Portuguese flag re-appeared at Ormuz, and also triumphed over the crescent at Surat. The Viceroy, Caetano de Mello, razed the Bonsalah's fort at Ambona, and went in person to destroy the castle of Bicholim in 1700. He also subjugated and fortified the islands of Corjuim and Ponelem in 1706. Another Viceroy, Cesar de Menezes, having been offended by the king of Canara, sailed with a flotilla to Barcelore, the fort of which he dismantled, burning all the habitations along the river, and putting to death all who offered resistance. Kaliánpúr, on the same coast, met with a similar fate; some Musalman ships being also burnt there, and the artillery of the fort embarked in the Portuguese ships. After that he bombarded Mangalore, Comutah, Gocorna and Mirzes, spreading everywhere terror, conflagration and death (1713). The Conde da Ericeira burnt the

arsenals and ships of the enemy at Por-Patane, pursued the pirate Angriah, routed the Arabs in three combats, began to construct the fort of Chuporá, and gained other advantages (1718 to 1720).

In the year 1736, however, serious reverses obscured the glory of the victories just mentioned. On the pretext that their ambassadors had been inhospitably received, the Mahrattas invaded the "Province of the North"* and took the fort of Tannah by surprise; but they lost next year many of their combatants, when they assailed the fort of Madapúr, commanded by Manuel Sanches de Oliveira, who was however obliged to destroy it, lest the foe should occupy it. Then came the long and obstinate siege of Bassein, in which its commandant Martinho da Silveira died at the very beginning of the contest, and his successor a few months afterwards. The third commandant, Caetano de Sousa, had scarcely sixty combatants and no provisions at all left, when he capitulated to the Mahrattas on the 23rd May 1739, and was allowed to march out of the fort with all the honours of war. Thus that once famous town, the abode of many Portuguese nobles, and known by the title of the "Court of the North," was lost.

The victorious Mahratta army then marched to Damaon with the intention of conquering it also, but desisted from the undertaking, and afterwards modified its plans for conquering Chaul and Diu in the same manner, but devastated the province of Salsete. At the same time the Bonsalah invaded the lands of Bardez, and Angriah attacked the Portuguese vessels by sea; the resources of the Government had reached their last extremity, and it became necessary to deliver Chaul to the Mahrattas. This period of reverses was, however, again followed by one of glory, which lasted a little more than ten years. The Conde da Ericeira, then Marquez de Lourizal, returned to India, and with him the good luck which had accompanied him already during his first incumbency. He brought European troops, with which he routed the Mahratta forces in the plains of Bardez, conquered the forts of Sanguem and Supem, and retook Ponda (1742).

Then followed the glorious period of the government of the Marquez de Castello Novo e Alorna (1744 to 1750), during which the Portuguese troops conquered, under his direction and command, the towns of Alorna and Rarim, with the forts of Tiracol, Sanquelim, Bicholim and Neutim. The next Viceroy, the Marquez de Tavora, chastised the foes of Portugal by sea as well as by land, but died on the scaffold at Lisbon, having after his return from

* This was the Portuguese name for on which they possessed Bassein the coast of the Bombay Presidency Chaul, Damaon, Diu, &c.

342 *Historical Sketch of Portuguese India.*

India been accused of an attempt against the life of the king of Portugal D. José. In 1754 the Portuguese Government ordered the forts of Neutim and Rarim, the fruits of the victories of the Marquez de Alorna to be restored to the Bonsalah their former owner, who, however, four years afterwards, broke the peace and took possession also of Pernam and Sanquelim. In 1755 the Government appointed an agent of the Portuguese in Pondichery, as it had already two years before nominated one at Coromandel; is also granted religious liberty to the inhabitants of the "New Conquests" and allowed them to build pagodas which had been prohibited in the "Old Conquests," since 1540, the period at which all the existing ones had been razed.

In 1756 the Viceroy, Conde de Alva, was captured and killed by the Mahrattas. In 1759 all the Jesuits of Portuguese India, two hundred and twenty-one in number, were taken into custody by the Government. In 1761 the district of Cabo de Rama came into the possession of the Portuguese, and is still held by them; and in 1762 a treaty of peace was concluded with the king of Sunda, who was, however, dethroned by Nawáb Haidar Alí Khan and took refuge in Goa (1764). By order of the Court the fort of Bicholem was delivered to the Mahrattas, but shortly afterwards (1766) it was again returned, and peace concluded with them.

In 1769 the Exchequer Court, or Revenue Board, of Goa (*junta da fazenda*) was created; and in 1771 the Government took over the custom-house administration of that town, which had since the conquest always been rented to the highest bidder. In 1772 the first public schools were established in Portuguese India; in 1773 the post of "intendant of marine and of the arsenals" was instituted, and the tax for the support of the educational establishments founded during the preceding year was first imposed. In 1774 the supreme court named "Relazao" was abolished; in 1775 it was promulgated that all natives of Goa, not disqualified by law, were entitled to the same honours and privileges with the natives of Portugal, and admissible to all public employments; in 1776 orders arrived to deliver to secular priests all the parish churches hitherto administered by friars; in 1779 an "intendant of the agriculture of the estate" was appointed, which office still exists; in 1782 the first exposition of the body of St. Francis Xavier took place in his church at Goa, he having been declared "Protector of India" already in 1748.

During the wise government of the Captain-General D. Frederico Guilherme de Sousa (1779 to 1786) the forts in the new conquests, alienated partly by carelessness and partly by treachery, again returned to the Portuguese sway. The Indian marine was improved, the tribunal of the "Relazao" re-established, the strong

places, especially on the frontiers, were better cared for, and the whole administration of the country became more developed. The next governor, Francisco da Cunha e Menezes, took great pains to improve the finances of the colony, re-conquered the province of Pernem (1788), and is to be considered as one of the good governors of India ; but in 1793 the English lowered the Portuguese banner from the fort of Calicut.

The first year of the new century was ushered in by the friendly English occupation of the forts on the bar of Goa, which lasted till the fall of Napoleon and the conclusion of the general peace in 1815. The horrible tribunal of the so-called "Holy Inquisition" was abolished at Goa in 1814, while it still continued to exist at Coimbra, at Evora and even in Lisbon. With the dawning of religious, political liberty also commenced to flourish, but was unhappily tarnished by a series of disturbances and revolts which lasted a number of years with intervals of more or less tranquillity. The enemies of liberty desired to convert it into licentiousness in order to discredit it, and, rushing forth, with seditious cries as soon as the heroic regenerating movement of Portugal had begun in 1820, they took the brave, economic and prudent Viceroy Conde de Rio Pardo prisoner, and entrusted the government to a provisional junta, which they likewise soon deposed, to substitute a new administration directed by D. Manuel de Camara, whom the court of Portugal had appointed Captain-General. This functionary assumed the government (after the reaction of 1823 had set in), which devolved after his death upon a junta composed of the chief officers of the ecclesiastical, the military, and the judicial service. The next Viceroy, D. Manuel de Portugal e Castro, restrained demagogic excesses by his prudence on the one hand, and controlled the violence of the absolutists on the other, so that during his despotic rule even those who had been deported to India for their crimes, not only enjoyed personal security, but to some extent even the rights of citizens ; but when the restoration took place in 1834 the inexperienced Government of Portugal committed the mistake of appointing a native "Prefect of Portuguese India," who was a man of talent, but with sympathies and antipathies towards certain parties of the country which had given him birth, and with his arrival in Goa disturbances again broke out, as might have been expected. The population took up arms, blood was shed, and the new Viceroy, who had intended to reign as a despot, was, after a brief tenure of forty-eight hours, compelled to surrender the administration to the first councillor of the prefecture ; nor could he recover his authority anywhere except in Damaon.

344 *Historical Sketch of Portuguese India.*

and Diu. The spirit of revolt had, however, been awakened, and one disturbance succeeded another. To aggravate the evil, two governors in succession, namely, the Barons de Sabroso and de Cabral, died. Under the rule of the "Council of Government" turbulent partisans were more or less able to keep the embers of revolt alive, and in 1842 dared to remove from the Government the Councillor Lopes de Lima, whom the Queen had temporarily appointed to administer it. These examples of Portuguese turbulence were not lost upon the Hindus of Satari, who rose in arms, and resisted for several years all the efforts of the Governor-General Visconde de Villa Nova de Ourem (from 1851 till 1855) to reduce them to order.

Let us now abandon this spectacle of revolts, and terminate our historical sketch of Portuguese India with a brief record of its advancement in the paths of civilisation during this century.

D. Manuel di Portugal e Castro, who governed Portuguese India from 1827 till 1835, left a glorious name on the shores of Mandovi. He was the founder of new Goa, which bore the name of Panjim, whilst yet a miserable hamlet in the district of Taleigaon. Public edifices and bridges rose on all sides, the streets were embellished with handsome private houses, and the marshes disappeared; public instruction and agriculture, equally encouraged by the Viceroy, contributed to the welfare of the people, and made his name immortal. From 1820 periodical literature began to flourish, and the "official bulletin of the Government" has been published since the 7th of December 1837. Under the paternal government of the Councillor Pestana some barbarous usages were abolished (1844), the commercial company of Goa came into existence, and a monument to the great Affonso de Albuquerque was raised. Physical and moral improvements, so many times interrupted by disturbances, henceforth advanced steadily. In 1852 the Ranis of Satari, headed by Dipaji, raised the standard of revolt, which was quelled after a protracted resistance. New roads and bridges were constructed; in 1859 the electric telegraph was introduced; public works were promoted, and, on the 29th January 1860, an industrial exhibition of the various products of India was opened at Goa. In 1871 the troops of Goa revolted, because the Government refused to grant their exorbitant demands, but they were subdued and disbanded by Dom Augusto, the brother of the king of Portugal, who arrived with troops and restored order.

Having thus terminated our historical sketch and mentioned the chief events, we shall have no need to allude to them except in a general way, as connected with the rule of the various

governors of Portuguese India, a list of whom we now sub-join : —

List of the Governors, Viceroys, and Captains-General of Portuguese India to 1860.

I.—*D. Francisco de Almeida*, (1st Viceroy,) sailed from Lisbon on the 25th March 1505, arrived at Angediva on the 12th September at Cananore on the 24th October, and at Cochin, where he chiefly resided, on the 1st November. In each of the three places just mentioned he built a fort. In 1506 *D. Lourenzo de Almeida* discovered the Maldive islands and Ceylon. *D. Francisco* surrendered and destroyed the town of Dabul ; and also gained a signal victory over the Turkish fleet. He died by the hands of Kaffirs in the watering place of Saldanha, near the Cape of Good Hope, on his return voyage to Portugal (1st March 1509).

II.—*Affonso de Albuquerque*, 2nd Governor, took over the government of India at the end of October 1509. He took the town of Goa from the Musalmans on the 17th February 1510, but it was lost on the 17th May of the same year, and re-conquered by *Albuquerque* six months afterwards on the 25th November. He took Malacca and Ormuz, bombarded Aden, paid a visit to the Red Sea, built forts at Calicut and Goa, caused the Moluccas and Banda islands to be discovered, built the church of “*Nossa Senhora de Serra*” at Goa, and died in the same town on the 16th December 1515.

III.—*Lopo Soares de Albergaria*, or *Alvarenga*, sailed from Lisbon on the 17th April 1515, and arrived on the 8th September at Goa where he immediately took charge of the government, as his predecessor was absent at Ormuz. He made the king of Ceylon tributary, and erected a fort in that island. He sailed from Cananore for Portugal on the 20th January 1519.

IV.—*Diogo Lopes de Sequeira* left Lisbon on the 18th March 1518, arrived in Goa on the 8th September, and took possession of the government at Cochin on the 20th December of the same year. He erected the fort of Chaul, and embarked for Portugal on the 22nd January 1522.

V.—*D. Duarte de Menezes* sailed from Lisbon on the 5th of April 1521, arrived at Cochin the same year in September, and took possession of the government only when his predecessor had arrived from Ormuz, on the 22nd December. In his time the fort of Ternate (in the Moluccas) was built, and the pretended body of St. Thomas the apostle discovered at Meliapur. He surrendered the government on the 4th of December 1524, and returned to Portugal.

VI.—*D. Vasco da Gama*, Count of Vidigueira, and admiral

346 *Historical Sketch of Portuguese India.*

of the sea of India (2nd Viceroy), sailed from Lisbon on the 9th of April 1524, and arrived in Goa at the end of September. He died at Cochin, during the same year in December.

VII.—*D. Henrique de Menezes* (o Roxo), appointed by the document of succession which the admiral had brought. He succoured the fort of Calicut against the forces of the Zamorin, and died on the 21st February 1526 at Cananore, at an age of less than thirty years.

VIII.—*Lopo Vaz de Sampaio*.—During his government, which he assumed in the absence of Pero Mascarenhas, who was to have succeeded D. Henrique de Menezes, the Portuguese obtained possession of Tidore in the Molucca islands, and of Mangalore and Bombay in India. He gained battles by sea and by land, but was carried in irons, on the 18th November 1529, to Portugal, where he was cast into prison for his achievements in India, or rather for having impeded the accession of Pero Mascarenhas to the government.

IX.—*Nuno da Cunha* sailed from Lisbon, on the 18th April 1529, and arrived at Goa on the 22nd October of the same year. He conquered the towns of Bassein and Diu, gained some notable victories, and, returning to Portugal after a sway of nearly ten years, died at sea in January 1539, aged fifty-two.

X.—*D. Garcia de Noronha*, (3rd Viceroy,) sailed from Lisbon in March 1538, arrived at Goa on the 14th September of the same year, and died on the 3rd April 1540.

XI.—*D. Estevão da Gama* assumed the government because the nominee Martin Affonso de Sousa had departed for Portugal. During his rule the college de Santa Fé was founded at Goa. He proceeded to the Red Sea and visited Mount Sinai, where he armed numerous cavaliers for military service in India. He surrendered the government to his successor on the 7th May 1542 and retired to Panjim, whence he departed the next season for Portugal.

XII.—*Martin Affonso de Sousa*, having been appointed in January 1541, left Lisbon, on the 7th April of the same year, wintered in Mozambique, and arrived in Goa only on the 7th May 1542, bringing St. Francis Xavier to India. During his rule the Moluccas islands, with the peninsulas of Salsete and Bardez, became subject to Portugal. His administration lasted till the 10th September 1545.

XIII.—*D. João de Castro*, (4th Viceroy,) having been appointed Governor and Captain-General of India in January 1545, was promoted to the dignity of Viceroy in October 1547, but received the news only a few days before his death. He set out from Lisbon, on the 17th of March 1545, and arrived in Goa on the 10th

September of the same year. He succoured Diu, which was heroically defended by D. João Mascarenhas, and died at Goa, after three and a half years of a most glorious reign, on the 6th of June 1548, in the arms of St. Francis Xavier.

XIV.—*Garcia de Sá*. As the first and the second governor appointed, namely, D. João Mascarenhas and D. Jorge Tello, had left for Portugal, Garcia de Sá who had been designated as the third, took charge of the government. He died on the 3rd June 1549, and during his government, which did not last a year, the king of Tanore came to Goa and embraced Christianity.

XV.—*Jorge Cabral*.—He had been nominated the fourth in the order of succession, but, being the captain of Bassein, a provisional council, consisting of the bishop, the captain of the town of Goa, and the chief judge, administered, till his arrival, the government of which he took charge at Panjim on the 15th August 1549. He built the chapel of St. Catherine on the spot where the great Albuquerque had entered Goa. He governed till November 1550.

XVI.—*D. Affonso de Noronha*, (5th Viceroy).—He sailed on the 1st March 1550 from Lisbon, arrived at Cochin the same year, in November, and assumed the government at Goa on the 20th January 1551. During his rule a great victory was gained over the Javanese, who had besieged Malacca, and the immortal poet, Camoens, arrived in India as a private soldier. He governed the country four years, made over his post to his successor on the 23rd September 1554, and sailed for Portugal from Cochin on the 15th January 1555.

XVII.—*D. Pedro Mascarenhas*, (6th Viceroy).—He set out from Lisbon at the end of March 1554, and arrived in Goa on the 23rd September of the same year. He died on the 16th June 1555. He was at the head of the Government only nine months, but even that short period sufficed to brand him as a narrow-minded fanatic, and was remarkable only for the dissensions which broke out between Francisco Barreto and some other gentlemen of India.

XVIII.—*Francisco Barreto*.—He assumed the government on the very day his predecessor expired; ruled till the 8th September 1558, made some conquests and embarked for Portugal on the 20th January 1559. A notable satire in the poetical works of Camoens, named "*Disparates na India*," gives a faithful picture of the state of morality during the time of Francisco Barreto, who was a fanatic.

XIX.—*D. Constantino de Braganza*, (7th Viceroy).—He sailed from Lisbon, on the 7th April 1558, and arrived at Goa in September. He was one of the most beloved Viceroys of India

348 *Historical Sketch of Portuguese India.*

governed till the 7th September 1561, and embarked for Portugal in January 1562, after a government of three years.

XX.—*D. Francisco Continho*, Count of Redondo (8th Viceroy).—He left Lisbon, on the 15th March 1561, arrived at Goa on the 7th September, took possession of the government at once, and died on the 19th February 1564.

XXI.—*João de Mendonza*.—The Governor first appointed, D. Antão de Noronha, having sailed for Portugal, João de Mendonza assumed the reins of government, but surrendered them as soon as his successor arrived on the 3rd September 1564 and returned to Portugal.

XXII.—*D. Antão de Noronha*, (9th Viceroy).—He set out from Lisbon, on the 18th March, and reached Goa on the 3rd September 1564. He succoured Malacca, constructed the fort of Mangalore, and built the wall along the eastern side of the island of Goa. He was liked by the people nearly as much as D. Constantino de Braganza had been. He governed till the 10th September 1568,* and then left for Portugal.

XXIII.—*D. Luiz de Athaide*, (10th Viceroy).—According to the usual custom of despatching ships to India in March, he sailed from Lisbon, on the 10th of that month in 1568, and arrived in September, assuming the government on the 10th of that month. He valorously defended the island of Goa against the forces of A'ly Adil Sháh, the Sultán of Bejapur, which besieged it for a considerable time. During his incumbency a terrible epidemic broke out in Goa. He governed till the 6th September 1571, and returned to Portugal in 1572, but was a few years afterwards again appointed Viceroy.

XXIV.—*D. Antonio de Noronha*, (11th Viceroy).—He started from Lisbon during the usual season in 1571, and arrived at Goa on the 6th of September; he was, however, accused of incapacity and recalled to Portugal in 1573, without being allowed the ordinary term of three years allotted to a Viceroy.

XXV.—*Antonio Moniz Barreto*.—He took possession of the government on the 9th May 1573, and retained it till September 1576, when he surrendered the administration to his successor, and returned to Portugal.

XXVI.—*D. Diogo de Menezes*.—He took charge of the government, because Ruy Lourenzo de Tavora, who had been appointed Viceroy, died during his voyage in Mozambique. He delivered

* The above date is from the *Estado da India*, page 114, the 2nd "Quadros historicos," published at February 1569, is given as the date of Goa, and agrees also with Fonseca, departure, page 90, but in the "Ensaio, &c.,

charge of the administration to the new Viceroy on the 31st August in 1578, and returned to Portugal.

XXVII.—*D. Luiz de Athaide*, Conde de Athouguia, and afterwards Marquez de Santarem, (12th Viceroy,) being appointed for the second time, set sail from Lisbon in November 1577, arrived at Goa on the 31st August in 1578, and died on the 10th March 1581.

XXVIII.—*Fernão Telles de Menezes*.—He was governor only six months, and then made over charge to his successor on the 17th September 1581.

XXIX.—*D. Francisco Mascarenhas*, Conde da Villa da Horta, (13th Viceroy).—Portugal being now subject to Spain for sixty years, this Viceroy was the first appointed by Philip VI. He sailed from Lisbon, on the 11th April 1581, and arrived in Goa on the 16th September of the same year. He departed for Europe on the 22nd November 1584, after having received the news that his successor had already reached Cochin, and left the archbishop in charge of the government.

XXX.—*D. Duarte de Menezes*, Conde de Tarouca, (14th Viceroy,) left Lisbon, on the 10th April 1584, arrived at Cochin on the 25th of October, and died at Goa on the 4th May 1588.

XXXI.—*Manuel de Sousa Continho* took charge temporarily of the government till the arrival of Mathias de Albuquerque, who had embarked from Portugal.

XXXII.—*Mathias de Albuquerque*, (15th Viceroy,) sailed from Lisbon, on the 8th May 1590, and arrived in Goa the next year during the same month. During the incumbency of this Viceroy, which lasted till the 25th May 1597, the English made their first appearance in India.

XXXIII.—*D. Francisco da Gama*, Conde da Vidigueira, grandson of Vasco da Gama, (16th Viceroy).—He left the Tagus on the 10th April 1596, but did not reach Goa till the 22nd May of 1597, on the 25th of which month he assumed the reins of government. In 1598 the fort of Gaspar Dias was built, and the viceroy returned to Portugal in the beginning of 1601, his administration having lasted till the 25th December 1600.

XXXIV.—*Ayres de Saldanha*, (17th Viceroy).—He commenced to govern on the 25th December 1600, and returned to Portugal in 1605, having conducted the administration till the middle of January of that year. He was one of the most indolent viceroys, and allowed the country to be governed by a council of the Jesuits, and the Hollanders to blockade the port of Goa for a whole month.

XXXV.—*Martin Affonso de Castro*, (18th Viceroy).—He arrived in Goa during the middle of January in 1605, but, leaving

350 *Historical Sketch of Portuguese India.*

during the season of 1606 for Malacca, was there overtaken by death on the 3rd June 1607.

XXXVI.—*D. fr. Aleixo de Menezes*, Archbishop of Goa. He governed during the absence of the Viceroy, Castro, and after his death; but the recently appointed Viceroy, D. João Pereira Forjar, Conde da Feira, having died on the voyage, he continued in his post. His rule lasted from 1606 till the 27th May 1609, and during it the Hollanders besieged Malacca.

XXXVII.—*And é Furtado de Mendonza*.—He arrived from Portugal and took charge of the government on the 27th May 1609. His reign was short but energetic; he conquered the province of Jaffnapatam, defended Malacca against the powerful forces of the Hollanders and the Javanese, and then returned to Portugal.

XXXVIII.—*Ruy Lourenzo de Tavora*, (19th Viceroy).—He took charge of the government on the 5th September 1609, as soon as his predecessor departed, and retained it till the 12th December 1612.

XXXIX.—*D. Jeronymo de Azevedo*, (20th Viceroy).—He was already in India, took charge of the government on the 15th December 1612, and returned to Portugal in November 1617.

XL.—*D. João Continho*, Conde de Redondo, (21st Viceroy).—He was the son of another Viceroy, who bore the same title, and assumed the government which his predecessor made over to him on the 18th November 1617, but died in Goa on the 19th November 1619.

XLI.—*Fernao de Albuquerque* governed from the 11th November 1619 till the 19th December 1622, because D. Affonso de Noronha, the Viceroy of India appointed in 1621, had not embarked.

XLII.—*D. Francisco da Gama*, Count admiral, (22nd Viceroy,) having been appointed for the second time on the 22nd January 1622, arrived at Goa, and assumed the reins of government on the 19th December of the same year. He returned to Portugal after a rule of five years, at the end of January 1627.

XLIII.—*D. fr. Luiz de Brito*, a monk of the order of St. Augustine, and bishop of Meliapur. He became governor by way of succession, and ruled from the 27th January 1627 till the 29th July 1628, when he died. Then Nuno Alvares Botelho, councillor of the estate, D. Lourenzo da Cunha, captain of the town, and the chancellor, Gonzalo Pinto da Fonseca, took charge of the government together from the 1st August, but, when the first named went subsequently to succour Malacca, the other two continued till the arrival of the next Viceroy to administer the state.

XLIV.—*D. Miguel de Noronha*, Conde de Linhares, (23rd

Viceroy,) having been appointed on the 7th February of 1629, arrived at Goa on the 21st October of the same year, and took charge of the government the next day. He caused the Portuguese arms to be respected during his administration, and was not less solicitous about the creation of public works, among which he built the hospital called "da Piedade," the powder manufactory, the church of the S. Lourenzo in the fort of Aguada, some fortifications at Bardez and in the island of Goa, and the large bridge at Panigim; he also aided the island of Ceylon, which was in great distress, and returned to Portugal, after having governed till the 8th December 1635.

XLV.—*Pero da Silva*, (24th Viceroy).—He arrived in India on the 8th December of 1635, and took charge of the government, which he administered till the 24th June 1639, when he died in Goa of an epidemic then prevalent in the town.

XLVI.—*Antonio Telles de Menezes*.—He was the commandant of Damaon, and entitled to assume charge of the government, which was, till his arrival, administered by the Archbishop primate, D. fr. Francisco dos Martyres. His rule lasted only from the 4th October 1639 till the 21st September 1640, during which time he constantly struggled against the attacks of the Hollanders. At this period of time the Spaniards were, by a patriotic revolution, expelled from Portugal, which saluted D. João IV king.

XLVII.—*João da Silva Tello de Menezes*, Conde de Aveiras, (25th Viceroy,) being appointed on the 25th February 1640, sailed from Lisbon, on the 26th March, arrived at Goa on the 20th September of the same year, and, having governed till 1646, returned to Portugal in 1647. During his incumbency the Spanish dominion over Portugal came to an end.

XLVIII.—*D. Filippe Mascarenhas*, (26th Viceroy).—He was appointed on the 10th of April 1644, and arrived in Ceylon, on the 10th December whence he began to govern Portuguese India. After the expiration of one year he solemnly assumed his duties in the city of Goa, on the 30th December 1645, and, having received information that João da Silva Tello de Menezes, who was for the second time appointed Viceroy, had died on the voyage, surrendered the government on the 31st May 1651 to the persons entitled to take charge of it by way of succession, and, returning to Europe, died at Loanda the next year (1652).

XLIX.—*D. Vasco Mascarenhas*, Conde de Obidos, (27th Viceroy,) having been appointed on the 19th January 1652, sailed from Lisbon, on the 25th March, and arrived at Goa on the 3rd September of the same year. He brought succour to Ceylon and to the forts of Canara, which were besieged by the Hollanders. In spite of his excellent qualities, he was deposed on the 22nd October 1653,

352 *Historical Sketch of Portuguese India.*

and sent a prisoner to Portugal, in consequence of a sedition headed by D. Braz de Castro, who usurped the supreme authority, which he detained till he was taken prisoner in 1655 with some of his followers.

L.—*D. Rodrigo Lobo da Silveira*, Conde de Sarzedas, (28th Viceroy,) sailed from Lisbon, on the 23rd March of 1655 and reached Mormugaon, near Goa, on the 19th August of the same year. This is the shortest of all the voyages to India which we have hitherto recorded as performed by the Viceroys. D. Rodrigo was first obliged to take the necessary measures for the restoration of order after the sedition, and governed with prudence, but died at Goa on the 3rd January 1656, probably by poison. Then the three estates (ecclesiastical, military and judicial) elected Manuel Mascarenhas Homem, who began to govern on the 14th January, but was afterwards joined by Francisco de Mello de Castro and by Antonio de Sousa Contiho, who arrived from Ceylon. The Viceroy designate, Conde de Villa Ponca de Aguiar, having died on his voyage from Portugal, the document of the order of succession found with him was opened on the 7th of September 1657, and the three officials just named, who were already at the head of the government, were also found mentioned therein. On the 25th of the above month, however, Manuel Mascarenhas Homem died, and his two colleagues continued to govern till the 14th June of 1661, when a new document of succession arrived, wherein D. Manuel Mascarenhas, Luiz de Mendonza Furtado and D. Pedro de Lancastre were named. The first, however, being governor of Mozambique, could not accept, and the other two carried on the administration till the 14th December of 1662.

LI.—*Antonio de Mello e Castro*, (29th Viceroy,) having been nominated governor on the 11th March 1662, was only one year afterwards authorised to make use of the title of Viceroy. He arrived at Bombay on the 29th September of the same year, and surrendered the island of that name to the English in execution of the matrimonial treaty of 1661. In his time the Hollanders obtained possession of Cochin and of other ports on the Malabar Coast. He governed till 1666.

LII.—*João Nunes da Cunha*, Conde de S. Vicente, (30th Viceroy,) having been appointed on the 11th March 1666, arrived in Goa on the 11th October of the same year, took possession of the government on the 17th, and died on the 6th November 1668. The document of the order of succession having been opened, Antonio de Mello e Castro, Luiz de Miranda Henriques, captain of Diu, and Manuel Corte Real de Sampaio, councillor of the estate, were found designated to take charge of the administration.

LIII.—*Luiz de Mendonza Furtado de Albuquerque*, Conde de

Lavradio, (31st Viceroy).—He was appointed on the 9th March 1670, but arrived in Goa only the next year on the 20th May. His government lasted till the 30th October 1677. During his return to Europe he suffered shipwreck, but escaped to Mozambique, to die presently during his voyage to Lisbon.

LIV.—*D. Pedro de Almeida*, Conde de Assumar, (32nd Viceroy).—He was nominated on the 8th April 1677, arrived in Goa on the 28th October of the same year, but embarked by order of the Court of Portugal for Mozambique, where he died on the 22nd March 1679. In the absence of a Viceroy, D. fr. Antonio Brardão, the Archbishop primate, presided over the government with Antonio Pais de Sande, who continued to govern alone, with the assent of the junta of the three estates, after the demise of the Archbishop in the month of July of the same year.

LV.—*Francisco de Tavora*, Conde de Alvor, (33rd Viceroy).—He had received his letters patent on the 4th February 1681, and arrived at Goa on the 11th September. He waged a successful war against the Mahrattas, and fortified the island of Angediva. He departed for Portugal on the 15th December 1686.

LVI.—*D. Rodrigo da Costa*.—He governed by way of succession from 1686 to 1690, when he died. He was captain-general of the fleet of galleons in the Indian sea.

LVII.—*D. Miguel de Almeida*.—He assumed the administration after the death of D. Rodrigo in 1690, and governed alone, as his other two colleagues, appointed by way of succession, had died; but he followed them on the 9th January 1691, whereon D. Fernando Martins Mascarenhas de Lancastre and Luiz Gonzalves Cotta assumed the government by way of succession, and, the latter having died in June of the same year, his post was filled by D. Francisco Augustinho da Annunciação according to a declaratory letter from Lisbon.

LVIII.—*D. Pedro Antonio de Noronha*, Conde de Villa Verde, (34th Viceroy,) having been appointed on the 4th February 1692, sailed on the 25th March from Lisbon, wintered at Mozambique, and arrived in Goa on the 26th of May in the next year. He visited the northern forts and defeated the Arabs more than once. He left for Portugal after handing over the government to his successor on the 20th September 1699.

LIX.—*Antonio Luiz Gonzalves da Comara Continho*, (35th Viceroy).—He sailed on the 11th December 1697, and arrived at Goa on the 14th September 1698. He governed till the 17th September 1701, when he opened the document of the way of succession, and surrendered the administration to those designated therein, namely, to D. fr. Agostinho da Annunciação, Archbishop of Goa, and to D. Vasco Luiz Continho, Colonel of foot. This

354 *Historical Sketch of Portuguese India.*

Viceroy died at Bahia de todos os Santos (Bay of all Saints) during his return voyage to Portugal.

LX.—*Caetano de Mello de Castro*, (36th Viceroy,) elected on the 13th February 1703, took possession of the government on the 2nd of October. After an energetic administration, during which he gained several victories, he surrendered his office to his successor on the 29th October 1707, and returned to Portugal.

LXI.—*D. Rodrigo da Costa*, (37th Viceroy,) appointed on the 25th February 1707, arrived at Goa on the 25th October, and returned to Portugal after serving his term till the 21st September 1712.

LXII.—*Vasco Fernandes Cesar de Menezes*, (38th Viceroy).—He sailed from Lisbon on the 14th of April 1712, and, arriving in Goa on the 16th September, took possession of the government on the 21st of the same month. He built a new fort at Bardez, and fought against the Arabs at Mascat as well as at Surat. On the 13th January 1717 he opened the document of succession and handed over the government to the Archbishop designated therein.

LXIII.—*D. Sebastião de Andrade Pessanha*, Archbishop primate.—He took possession of the government on the 13th January 1717, according to the document just alluded to, and retained it till the 16th October.

LXIV.—*D. Luiz de Menezes*, having been appointed on the 10th of April 1717, started from Lisbon on the 17th of the same month, arrived at Goa on the 9th October, and received the government from the Archbishop seven days later. His administration was memorable in peace as well as in war, and he returned to Portugal covered with glory and blessings. He governed till the 14th September 1720.

LXV.—*Francisco Jose de Sampaio e Castro*, (40th Viceroy).—He was nominated on the 31st March 1720, sailed on the 13th April from Lisbon, arrived at Goa on the 12th September, and took possession of the government on the 14th. He died on the 13th July 1723.

LXVI.—*D. Christovão de Mello*.—He governed by way of succession from the 13th July till the 3rd of September of the same year, when a new document of succession arrived from the Court, wherein he himself was designated in conjunction with D. Ignacio de Santa Theresa, the Archbishop primate, and Christovão Luiz de Andrade, chancellor of the estate.

LXVII. *João de Saldanha da Gama*, (41st Viceroy,) nominated on the 20th January 1725, arrived in Goa on the 24th of October, and took possession of the government on the 28th. In his time the northern provinces were invaded by the

Mahrattas. Having obtained permission to return to Portugal, he opened the document of succession and entrusted the persons therein named with the government on the 23rd January 1732; their names are:—D. Ignacio de Santa Theresa, Archbishop, D. Christovão de Mello, and Jeronymo Correia Freire; but, the last mentioned having died, a new document was opened according to which the secretary of the estate Thomé Gomes Moreira was substituted. During his time peace was concluded with the Mahrattas.

LXVIII.—*D. Pedro Mascarenhas*, Conde de Sendomil, (42nd Viceroy,) being appointed on the 23rd March 1732, sailed from Lisbon on the 26th April, and arrived in Goa on the 5th October of the same year. Two days afterwards he began his unhappy government of nine years, during which the Portuguese lost Bassein, and the whole so-called province of the north, except Damaou and Diu, by the capitulation of the 19th May 1739. The Mahrattas invaded the peninsulas of Salsete and Bardez, so that it became necessary to surrender to them Chaul in order to save Goa. In 1740 the pirate Augriah destroyed the Portuguese fleet, and this ill-starred Viceroy returned to Portugal in 1741, after making over charge of the government to his successor. His government lasted from the 7th October 1732 to 18th May 1741.

LXIX.—*D. Luiz de Menezes*, Conde de Ericeira and 1st Marquez de Lourizal, (43rd Viceroy).—He was for the second time appointed to govern Portuguese India on the 21st April 1740, and sailed on the 7th May from Lisbon, reaching Goa on the 13th May of the next year. He repaired in a short time much of the damage committed during the administration of his predecessor. Having brought out European troops, he forthwith attacked the Mahrattas, routed them in the plains of Bardez, and recovered in a short time five forts; he also laid siege to the fort of Ponda, reconquered the province of Salsete, and performed other exploits. He died at Panelim on the 12th June 1742. The document of succession having been opened, the following names were found:—D. Francisco de Vasconcellos, bishop of Cochin, who was in his diocese, and arrived in Goa only on the 20th December, but died on the 30th March 1743; D. Lourenzo de Noronha, councillor of the estate, who was governing Mozambique, and arrived at Goa only on the 18th May of 1743, and D. Luiz Caetano de Almeida, who was the only one able to take charge of the administration after the demise of the Viceroy, but afterwards governed in conjunction with the bishop, and then also with D. Lourenzo.

LXX.—*D. Pedro Miguel de Almeida e Portugal*, Conde de Assuma, 1st Marquez de Castello Novo, and afterwards de Alorna,

356 *Historical Sketch of Portuguese India.*

(44th Viceroy).—He sailed from Lisbon on the 29th March of 1744, and arrived on the 22nd September at Goa, where he assumed charge of the government. He fought successfully against the Mahrattas from whom he took the forts of Bicholim and Sanquelim with the adjacent country. On the 5th of May 1746 he took Alorna in person, for which feat his title of Marquis of Castello Novo was changed to that of Alorna; he took also the forts of Jiracol and Neutim with the town of Rarim. He returned to Portugal on the 27th September 1750.

LXXI.—*Francisco de Assis*, Marquez de Tavora, (45th Viceroy).—He departed from Lisbon in 1750 on the 28th March, and, arriving at Goa, took charge of the government on the 27th September. He was successful by land against the Mahrattas and other enemies of the State. In his time the province of Mozambique was severed from the government of India (1752). He returned to Europe on the 18th September 1750 after a rule of four years.

LXXII.—*D. Luiz Mascarenhas*, Conde de Alva, (46th Viceroy).—He sailed from Lisbon on the 1st April 1754, arrived at Goa on the 15th September, and took charge of the government on the 18th of the same month. He continued the war against the Mahrattas, and, in attempting to retake Ponda, which had fallen into the power of the enemy, was made prisoner and died on the 28th June 1756. He lost also the towns of Rarim and Neutim. The document of the order of succession having been opened, D. Antonio Taveira de Neiva Bram da Silveira, Archbishop; João de Mesquita Matos Texeira, chancellor of the estate, and José Correia de Sá, were found designated to take charge of the government, but as the latter had already returned to Portugal, the seal of the second document was broken, which contained the name of D. Antonio José da Costa, who had already died, but in the third Filippe de Valladares Souto Maior was designated, who accordingly continued to govern with the two first named, till the arrival of the new Viceroy.

LXXIII.—*Manuel de Saldanha de Albuquerque*, Conde da Ega, (47th Viceroy,) appointed on the 10th March 1756, arrived at Goa on the 20th September, and continued the war with the Mahrattas, bringing it to a successful conclusion by causing the fort of Ponda to be destroyed, and occupying a portion of the province of Konkan; but was by an order of the court of Portugal commanded to restore the fort of Bicholim and of Alorna to those from whom they had been taken. He transferred his residence to the palace of Panjim, where also his successors dwell in our days. During his sway the Jesuits located in India were taken prisoners and sent to Portugal. When the news of the death of his successor, D. João de Lancastre, which had taken

place at Mozambique arrived, he opened the document of succession on the 19th October 1765, and delivered charge of the government to those named therein, namely, to the Archbishop D. Antonio Taveira da Neiva (for the second time); the chanceller of the estate, João Baptista Vaz Pereira, and the comptroller of revenue, D. João José de Mello. This Viceroy sailed for Portugal on the 25th December 1765.

LXXIV.—*D. João José de Mello*.—He is the last of the three, above mentioned and, being appointed governor on the 12th April 1767, received charge of the administration from the hands of his colleagues on the 12th March 1768. In his time various measures of economy were carried out, one of which was the reduction of the salaries of governors and viceroys to 20,000 xera-fons per annum, and by a certain law of the 10th April 1769, a revenue-board was established in Goa. He died on the 10th January 1774.

LXXV.—*Filippe de Valladares Souto Maior*.—He governed from the 13th of January till the 24th September 1774, by way of succession, for the second time, till the arrival of the new Viceroy.

LXXVI.—*D. José Pedro da Camara*, governor and *captain-general*, being appointed on the 4th February 1774, arrived at Goa on the 22nd September, but nothing of any moment appears to have taken place during his rule. He governed till the 26th May 1779, when he returned to Portugal, and those who succeeded him mostly bore the title of *captain-general* instead of *viceroy*.

LXXVII.—*D. Frederico Guilherme de Sousa*, being appointed on the 18th March 1778, arrived in Goa on the 22nd May 1779. He again recovered the provinces of Bicholim and Sauquelim, as well as the forts of Alorna and of Arabo, besides which he built others also, and considerably augmented the war-marine of Portuguese India. In his time the Relazao, or Supreme Court of judicature, abolished by the law of the 15th January 1774, was re-established. After a provident administration of seven years, he made over the government to his successor and returned to Lisbon. He was in charge of the government from the 26th May 1779 till the 3rd November 1786.

LXXVIII.—*Francisco da Cunha e Menezes*, appointed on the 19th December 1785, arrived at Goa on the 28th October 1786, and recovered the province of Pernem in 1788 for the estate. He was very careful of the public finances. Having requested to be relieved, he was permitted to return to Europe after managing the affairs of the State till the 22nd May 1794.

LXXIX.—*Francisco Antonio da Veiga Cabral*.—He was serving at Goa as Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of

358 *Historical Sketch of Portuguese India.*

the forces, when he was appointed to govern India by a royal letter, dated the 24th August 1793, and began his administration on the 22nd May 1794, but received his letters patent as governor and captain-general only on the 15th November 1806, and continued in office till the 30th May 1807. During his time in 1801 the forts on the bar of Goa were occupied by an English auxiliary force, which evacuated them only after the general peace of 1815. After thirteen years of an assiduous administration, he made over charge to his successor and retired to Brazil, where he obtained the title of Viscount of Mirandella.

LXXX.—*Bernardo José de Lorena*, Conde de Sarzedas, (48th Viceroy,) being appointed Viceroy and Captain-General on the 17th October 1806, departed from Lisbon, the 15th November, and, arriving in Goa on the 27th May of the next year, assumed the government. During his incumbency in 1814, the tribunal of the Holy Inquisition was abolished at Goa, and its palace demolished. This Viceroy returned from India by way of Rio de Janeiro. He governed till the 29th October 1816.

LXXXI.—*D. Diogo de Sousa*, Conde de Rio Pardo, (49th Viceroy,) appointed on the 4th January 1816, arrived at Goa on the 25th November. Although a good soldier and a prudent administrator, he was removed from the government and taken prisoner on the 16th September 1821, as soon as news of the revolution which had taken place in 1820 in Portugal reached Goa. A junta or provisional board, consisting of the following members, was organised to supersede him in the government, namely,—the Field Marshals Manuel Godinho da Mira and Joaquim Manuel Correia da Silva e Gama, with the chief judges Manuel José Gomes Loureiro, Gonzalo de Magalhães Teixeira and Manuel Duarte Leitão; but they were in their turn removed from the government in consequence of another revolution.

At this time a new governor had already arrived, on the 25th November of 1821 in Goa, but was compelled to accept four colleagues in the administration on the 3rd December of the same year, after having resided in a private house from the time of his arrival till the day of the revolt. The provisional government was composed as follow :—President, D. Manuel da Camara (the appointed captain-general); members, the Archbishop of Cranganore, D. fr. Paulo de S. Thomás de Aquino; the Brigadier, Antonio de Mello Souto Maior Telles; the chief judge, João Carlos Leal; the chief physician, Antonio José de Lima Leitao; but the last named having been elected Deputy to the constituent Cortes, his place in the council was taken by the military sea-captain, Joaquim Mourão Garcez Palha. The Conde de Rio Pardo (LXXXI), having gone to Bombay on the 2nd October of the same year, returned to Goa

on the 7th February 1822, and sailed for Rio de Janeiro in a man-of-war on the 4th March.

LXXXII.—*D. Manuel da Camara*, (50th Viceroy,) having been sent as governor and captain-general on the 19th July 1820, arrived in Goa on the 25th November 1821—as we have already mentioned above—and was president of the provisional junta from the 3rd December of the same year till the 18th November 1823, when he assumed the government alone, on learning that the constitution of Portugal had been abolished. By a royal letter, dated the 22nd August of 1824, he was appointed Viceroy and Captain-General. Accordingly he assumed full powers as such on the 10th March 1825, but died on the 16th November of the same year, after having completed some works of public utility. After his demise the government was taken up by D. fr. Manuel de S. Galdino, Archbishop, Candido José Mourão Garcez Palha, chief of the fleet; and Antonio Ribeiro de Carvalho, auditor-general (ouvidor-general).

LXXXIII.—*D. Manuel de Portugal e Castro*, (51st and last Viceroy).—He took possession of the administration as governor on the 9th of October 1827, and was elevated to the dignity of Viceroy on the 7th April 1830. Panjim, the present capital of Portuguese India, is indebted to him for its embellishments and for many of its public edifices, as well as other buildings.

LXXXIV.—*Bernardo Peres da Silva*, (Prefect).—He was appointed Prefect of the Estate of India on the 7th May 1834, arrived in Goa on the 10th January 1835, and assumed the civil administration of the province on the 14th of the same month, but retained it scarcely seventeen days. On the 1st February a revolt broke out in Goa against the prefect, who was made prisoner and sent to Bombay; afterwards, however, he returned to Portuguese territory, in which he governed Damaon and Diu. In order to calm the minds of the people, irritated by sedition, the ex-Viceroy, D. Manuel de Portugal, assumed the government for two days, and, convoking an assembly in the palace, caused Joaquim Manuel Correia da Silva e Gama, the first councillor, to be placed at the head of public affairs. On the 10th of the same month of February a reaction in favour of the prefect set in, but miscarried, and gave rise to a military movement on the 3rd of March, which resulted in the deposition of Correia, and the appointment of a provisional government, composed of Colonel João Cazimiro da Rocha Vasconsellos, as president, with the chief physician, Manuel José Ribeiro, and the father of the Christians (pae dos christãos,) *i. e.*, protector of neophytes, fr. Constantin de Santa Rita, as members. The ex-Viceroy, D. Manuel de Portugal, and the chief judge, Manuel Venancio Moreira de Carvalho, refused

360 *Historical Sketch of Portuguese India.*

to acknowledge this new government, and the first retired to Vingorla, whence he embarked for Lisbon. The military governor, Fortunato de Mello, who accompanied the prefect, had also been sent by the Court of Portugal.

Fr. Constantino having died on the 7th December 1836, a new assembly was convoked to elect three citizens in order to form, with the two remaining members of the provisional council, a governing junta of five members. This assembly elected Colonel João Cabral de Estifigue, the Lieutenant-Colonel Antonio Maria de Mello, and the chief judge, Joaquim Antonio de Moraes Carneiro; but the last named ceased shortly afterwards to act with the junta, and the chief physician, Ribeiro, died on the 10th April 1837, so that it became necessary to convoke a new electoral assembly which appointed to the two vacant posts of the government the Majors José Antonio de Lemos and Antonio Mariano de Azevedo, who afterwards became secretary to the next governor, Baron Sabroso. These two new members continued, however, but a few days in their posts, though the other three continued to act until the new governor arrived.

LXXXV.—*Simão Infante de Lacerda*, Baron de Sabroso, Governor-General according to the decree of the 7th December of 1836, which title all his successors till our times have retained. He was appointed on the 2nd May 1836, and arrived on the 19th November 1837 at Goa, where he put in full effect the laws recently made for the administration of the colonies, but had disagreeable conflicts with the presiding judge of the Supreme Court and with the commander of the frigate, D. Pedro, in which, however, both succumbed and fled from Goa. Being attacked with a serious illness, he entrusted the administration on the 28th September 1838 to the "council of government," according to the law, and died on the 14th October; this council consisted of the highest ecclesiastic, the Archbishop elect, D. Antonio Feliwano de Santa Rita, the principal military officer, namely, the colonel commanding the troops, José Antonio Vieira da Fonseca; the president chief judge, José Cancio Freire de Lima, and the chief fiscal employé of the Board of Revenue, Domingos José Mariano Luiz. Shortly afterwards, on the 21st of November, the Archbishop died, and the other three governed until the Court of Portugal appointed one of them to administer the affairs of the estate.

LXXXVI.—*José Antonio Vieira da Fonseca*, *ad interim* Governor-General, from the 3rd March to the 14th November 1839.

LXXXVII.—*Manuel José Mendes*, Baron de Cundal.—He was appointed on the 5th August 1839, sailed for India on the 30th of the same month, and arrived in Goa via Egypt, on the 12th November of the same year, but, having died on the 18th April

of the next year, he gave only hopes of a good administration. The government which succeeded him, was composed as follows:—José Antonio Vieira da Fonseca (Nr. LXXXVI); the chief judge, José Cancio Freira de Lima; the vicar of the chapter, Antonio João de Athaide, the clerk of the board of revenue, Domingo José Mariano Luiz, and two elected councillors, namely, José da Costa Campos, captain of engineers, and Caitano de Sousa e Vasconcellos, colonel of the militia of Mozambique.

LXXXVIII.—*José Joaquim Lopes de Lima*, *ad interim* Governor.—He was superintendent of the marine of Goa when he received orders from Portugal to take temporary charge of the government, which he accordingly assumed on the 24th September 1840, resigning it again on the 27th April 1842, in consequence of a military revolt. He departed to Bombay, and thence to Portugal, when his successor arrived. He made various improvements in the estate of Portuguese India, and after his departure a "council of government," composed as follows, administered it peaceably:—The chief judge, Antonio Ramalho de Sá, the brigadier, Antonio José de Mello Souto Maior Telles, the capitular vicar, Antonio João de Athaide, and two elected councillors, José de Costa Campos and Caetano de Sousa e Vasconcellos.

LXXXIX.—*Francisco Xavier da Silva Pereira*, Conde de Antas, being nominated on the 18th July 1842, arrived in Goa on the 16th September, and took possession of the government on the 19th of the same month. He introduced some reforms and economical measures, particularly in the military branch of the administration, and during his sway Panjim was raised to the state of a city with the title of *New Goa*. On the 25th April 1843 he caused the despatch containing the decree to be opened by which his successor was appointed, to whom he thereon surrendered the government and retired to Portugal.

XC.—*Joaquim Murao Garcez Palha*, reformed chief of division of the marine of Goa, having been appointed governor-general by a decree of the 31st January 1843, succeeded the Conde de Antas on the 25th April of the same year.

XCI.—*José Ferreira Pestana*, having been appointed on the 20th January 1844, sailed from Lisbon on the 28th March, arrived on the 17th of May in Goa, and took possession of the government on the 20th. His beneficent and wise administration embraced all kinds of improvements, and he returned to Europe after an incumbency of nearly seven years when his successor arrived. He ruled till the 15th January 1851.

XCII.—*Jose Joaquim Januario Lopa*, first Baron and afterwards Viscount of Villa Nova de Ourem, having been appointed on the 30th October 1850, arrived at Goa on the 12th January

362 *Historical Sketch of Portuguese India.*

1851, and assumed the government on the 15th of the same month and year. He departed on the 6th May 1855 for Portugal by permission of the Court, his health being shattered. He introduced some improvements, and his administration would have been more successful, if he had not been obliged to contend for several years with the rebels of Satary. The "council of government," after his departure, was composed as follows:—The bishop elect of Cochin, D. Joaquim de Santa Rita Botelho, the brigadier of the Indian army, Luiz da Costa Campos, the clerk of the board of revenue, Francisco Xavier Peres, with the elected councillors, Bernardo Heitor da Silveira e Lorena and Victor Anastacio Mourão Garcez Palha.

XCIII.—*Antonio Cesar de Vasconcellos Correia*, Viscount of Torres Novas, having been appointed on the 24th May of 1855, sailed on the 23rd. September from Lisbon, arrived at Goa on the 1st of November, and took possession of the government on the 3rd of the same month. On the 30th March 1858, his term of service as Governor-General was prolonged for three years more. His administration was chiefly remarkable for the construction of roads, some of which extend to the British frontiers, nevertheless the economy he practised, showed in 1860 such a surplus, that numerous others could be constructed in addition. He governed till the 24th December 1864.

XCIV.—*José Fereira Pestana*, appointed Governor-General for the second time, presided over the administration from the last mentioned date till the 7th May 1870.

X V. *Januario Correia de Almeida*, Viscount of St. Januario, governed from the last named date till the 12th December 1871.

XCVI.—*Joaquim José Macedo e Couto* succeeded and governed till the 10th May 1875.

XCVII.—*João Tavares de Almeida* governed from the last named date till the 24th July 1877, when he died, and a council, presided over by the Archbishop, administered the government.

XCVIII.—*Visconde Antonio Sergio de Souza* assumed charge on the 12th November 1877, and died on the 3rd May 1878, when a council presided over by the same Archbishop again assumed the administration.

XCIX.—*Caetano Alexandre de Almeida e Albuquerque* was appointed Governor-General by a decree of the 9th May 1878, and still presides over the administration with a firm hand.

ART. VII.—HINDI AND THE BIHAR DIALECTS.

SOMETHING over a year ago the Editor of the *Calcutta Review* did me the honour of publishing in these pages a paper entitled "A Plea for the People's 'Tongue.'" The object of that paper was to show that the language which is at present called Hindí is not, and never can be called, the language of Bihár, and to propose that some one of the local dialects of Bihár should be substituted for it as the official language of our cutcherries and our schools. The article attracted some attention,—much more than its intrinsic merits deserved,—and I am glad that it was noticed, for it showed that the subject is one which was ripe for discussion; and the fullest and freest discussion is what I wished to raise. The matter is one on which a great deal can be said on both sides, and though I held to one, I by no means despised the other, being convinced that the more the matter was threshed out by competent writers, the more certainly would the true state of affairs become manifest. I am, therefore, grateful that the subject was taken up by able opponents, as well as to the champions who sided with me, and what I now write may be taken as a reply to the principal arguments used on the other side of the question.

One of the objections, and an apparently cogent one, is that I advocate the introduction of a rustic and uncultivated speech, such as is talked by the lowest orders, much as if I advocated the introduction of the language of a Cumbrian miner into Northern English law-courts. I think, however, I can show that this objection is by no means well-founded. If we take an average educated Cumbrian squire, he speaks excellent English, and it is his language which is current in the law-courts of his country, and not that of his labourers. So it is the language of the average educated Biháří squire (if I may use the term) which I wish to see adopted in our law-courts. Our Cumbrian squire, it is true, will ten to one talk more or less good French to a foreigner, but he will speak English in his home,—and in the same way the Biháří squire will speak Hindí to a foreigner, while his mother-tongue is, nevertheless, Biháří.* To make this perfectly

* By this name I mean the language which is current in various dialects (such as Bhojpúrí, Maithilí, Mágadhí, &c.) throughout Bihár. The name is not generally used, as the very existence of such a language is denied by many, and is at present

only adopted tentatively instead of Eastern Hindí, or Hindúí, which is misleading. At present no one dialect has been adopted as the standard, and hence it has received little special literary culture.

clear, there are two expressions current throughout Eastern Hindústán, which I now proceed to explain. These are *theth bolí* and *khari bolí*. *Theth* means "genuine," or "pure," and the *theth bolí* means the *unmixed* speech of the lower orders. It is also called *gáñwári bolí* or "rustic speech." *Khari bolí*, that is to say, the "standard speech" is the language of the upper classes, and is also called *Nágarí* or "urban." Thus, to apply these terms to the English language, the Cumbrian miner speaks the *theth bolí*, and the squire the *khari bolí*. These two terms are universally used throughout rural Bihár in the above senses. A low-caste Dusádh talks a *theth* form, and a gentleman of the same village a *khari* form of the same Bihárá language, and it is the *khari* form used by the gentleman, and *not* the *theth* form used by the Dusádh, which I wish introduced into our law-courts. I am perfectly aware that many writers use *khari bolí* as equivalent to Hindí; and not improbably this may be true west of Benares where the local dialects belonging to the western Hindí class, (*e. g.*, Braj Bháshá, &c.), are closely connected with that language: but *khari bolí*, in rural parlance, in Bihár, never means Hindí, for which a different name, *viz.*, Jábání (*i.e.*, Mussalmán,) or Fársí (Persian,) is used.* It always means that form of the local dialect which is used in the upper classes of society and nothing else.

I hope, therefore, that it will be clearly understood that I do not aim at making the slang of the streets (as one critic accused me of doing) the language of our courts.

And now, before I go further, I wish to clear the way by explaining the meaning of a few terms, concerning which the greatest confusion exists. They are—

- | | |
|-----------|----------------|
| 1. Hindí. | 3. Kaithí, and |
| 2. Urdú. | 4. Nágarí. |

I have already treated of the first two in my former paper. Hindí and Urdú are different phases of the same language, which is called Hindústání, or the language of Hindústán, when in reality it is at most only the vernacular language of Western Hindústán. Hindí is the phase of that language when words of foreign origin are more or less rigidly excluded. Urdú is that phase which accepts foreign words without stint.† These two

* This is the case not only with reference to Urdú, but even with reference to books like the *Prem Ságar* in which there is hardly a single Persian word. Natives can never forget that the pure Hindí

phase is derived from the Urdú phase of the same language.

† I am, of course, only stating facts as they exist at present, and am not now stating that these two phases always existed side by side.

phases have *generally* each a peculiar character in which they are written. That is to say, Hindí is generally written in the Nágari or Kaithí character, and Urdú in the Persian character,—but this fact does not make them different languages, any more than German would cease to be German by being written in the Roman character. When, therefore, I talk of Hindí, I use the term as a convenient contraction for “the Hindí phase of the language of Western Hindústán”: and when I talk of Urdú I mean the “Urdú phase of the language of Western Hindústán.”

Hindí is frequently used to signify a *character* and not a *language*, but this is wrong, just as wrong as it is to call the Persian character Urdú because Urdú is written in it.

Kaithí and Nágari (also called Deva Nágari) are on the contrary names of *characters* and never of *languages*: though it is not at all uncommon to hear people talk of the “Kaithí language.” They might as well talk of the “Italic language” because English is sometimes written in Italic characters.

Another objection made to my theory is, that Hindí is a beautiful language, and hence that for that reason it should be current in Bihár. It is difficult to state this seriously, but that is the gist of the argument. Now in my former paper I used some very strong language about the constituents of Hindí, and perhaps the objection is made to combat these remarks. My intention, in saying what I did then, was, and is now, to show that this extremely composite language was, for that reason, unsuited to Bihár: and not that it was for that reason not fit to be used by any one. I am too great an admirer of my own beautiful language to condemn any other simply because it is a hybrid, and contains words as bad as “starvation” or “reliable.” On the contrary, I am quite willing to maintain that a composite language *in the right place* has nothing whatever to be said against it. English is a very composite language, and is admirable in England, but if it was transferred, say to France, where the people’s language has not one single grammatical form agreeing with it, it would be everywhere an admitted absurdity. Without going into hysterics over Hindí, I am perfectly free to admit that it is a copious, free, and flexible language, and may not improbably be suitable as a standard of the Western Hindústání dialects west of Benares, with which it is closely connected both in grammar and history. I do not pretend to be intimately acquainted with these dialects, and hence I do not offer a decided opinion: but when we come east of Benares the matter is quite different. All the remarks in my former paper were made with special reference to

Bihár, and I was arguing against *any* language, be it ever so flexible, ever so copious, ever so musical, being imposed on a country having a language of its own, radically different in structure and general character. English is fitly the standard to which the dialect of Cumberland or Somersetshire is referred, because, after allowing for eccentricities of spelling and pronunciation, these dialects show a close family relationship with it, but the dialects of Bihár show less relationship to Hindí than they do to Maráthí or Bangálí.* Of course, when I talk of Bihár, I except from consideration the large Muhammadan towns, such as Patna or Bihár city. In these, as might be expected, Muhammadan influence, and the necessity of having a *lingua franca* as means of communication with traders from all parts of India, has kept up and extended the use of Hindí, so that in these towns and their immediate suburbs the actual language of the country has to a large extent fallen into disuse.

Another objection to which a brief notice may be given is that Hindús have a reverence for the language of the country round Benares and Lucknow,—that Hindí is the language of the country round Benares and Lucknow,—and that, therefore, it should be adopted as the official language of Bihár. After noting that exactly the same reasoning would make Hindí the court language of Calcutta and of Bombay, I may point out that Hindí is *not* the language of the country round Benares and Lucknow. The dialect of the country round Benares is the Bihárá dialect, Bhojpúrí, and that of the tract round Lucknow is called Baiswárá. It is in this latter dialect that the Rámáyan of Tulsí Dás was written, and it is much more nearly allied to Bihárá than it is to Hindí. It is in fact a dialect of Eastern Hindústán, and not of Western Hindústán. If any thing, therefore, this objection tells rather in my favour than against it. Hindí is, of course, spoken in great purity in Benares town itself; but that is only between two pandits of different countries who have no common mother-tongue.

Another argument against my theory I cannot do better than quote in the words of its exponent, Babu Rádhiká Prasanna Mukherjí†:—“Those that remember the great gulf that separated the forms of speech current in East and West Bengal only a quarter of a century ago, and mark the process by which that gulf has now nearly been bridged, can hardly entertain a doubt that, with the extension of education and other civilizing agencies, the dialects spoken in the different parts of Bihár would, in the

* This may seem a sweeping statement, but it is literally the fact. See Hoerle's grammar of the Gaudian languages, Introduction, where the

matter is thoroughly worked out.

† In “A Few Notes on Hindi,” published by J. G. Chatterjea & Co. 44, Amherst Street. P. 22.

course of a few years, lose many of their peculiarities, and more and more approach a common standard. *There is every reason to hope that that standard will be the literary Hindí* which has been recognised by the educated classes as the language of polite talk and of literature.

“To predict the future of the language of Bihár, we have only to recall what happened in Bengal about three centuries ago. The great Vaishnab reformer, who was born and bred at Navadvipa, originated the religious movement, the influence of which was felt not only in his own province, but far and wide in different parts of India. The language in which the master preached the truths of the religion of faith and love, was based on the cultivated dialect of Nuddea; and this dialect, since improved upon by various writers, is now the language of literature in Bengal. *It is not easy to see why Benares Hindí, as cultivated by scholars and writers, should not occupy the same position in Bihár as that occupied by Nuddea Bangálí in Bengal.*”

The italics in the above are mine. It is not easy to me to see exactly what is meant by the term “Benares Hindí.” If by it he means the language of the country round Benares, is not Saul also amongst the prophets? That language is Bhojpúrí, one of the Biháí dialects,—and it is precisely one of these Biháí dialects, the use of which I am advocating. I presume, however, that Babu Rádhiká Prasanna means the Hindí spoken in Benares town itself by two pandits of *different nationalities and mother-tongues when speaking to each other*. If he does so, and wishes to compare this Hindí with Nuddea Bangálí, I am prepared to join issue with him at once. My opponent’s argument is shortly this,—in Bengal twenty-five years ago, the dialects of East and West were widely different, and yet the gulf between them has been practically bridged over by the literary language of Bengal, which was based on the cultivated dialect of Nuddea. At the present moment the dialects of East and West Hindústán are widely different; let the gulf between them be similarly bridged over by Hindí. It seems to me that this comparison is not fair. The dialects of Bengal, though differing (not “widely different,” by the bye), were all cognate, and *one from among these dialects* was taken, and made the standard. Nothing could have been fairer, and the result was a success. On the other hand,—the dialects of East and West Hindústán are not cognate. We can only take the Eastern group by itself, and the Western group by itself, as I shall show subsequently. To take them together would be as if we were to take French and Italian together, and select, say, the cultivated dialect of Alsace as a standard for both. We must take the Eastern group by itself, and then do as was done in Bengal,—take one dialect from among the collection which

forms the group and make it the standard. We cannot take a language born in the wilds of Rájputáná, and mixed up with the dialects of the Doab and the Panjáb, and make it the dialect of Bihár: the process would be unfair, and the result cannot be successful. It is like making the cultivated dialect of Alsace the standard of the dialects of Italy.

Another statement of the same objector I differ from entirely;—it is that Hindí has been accepted by the educated as the language of literature. It is true, that there are newspapers printed in Hindí, but they are written entirely for the official class, who have committed themselves to the *public* use of that language. Besides this, the newspapers are, perforce, compelled to be in Hindí, as it is by Government order the standard language, and is accepted as such by the Education Department. If, therefore, newspapers were not in that language, they would be in a double difficulty: first, they would run counter to the official system of education of the country; and, secondly, they have no other resource; for until the standard of the Biháí language is fixed, which can only be done by Government action, or by the works of some great native literary genius, who has not yet arisen, they do not know in what dialect to write, if they do give up their present language. But, putting the influence of the native press out of the question, I challenge my opponents to produce a single literary work, worthy of the name, written in Hindí for Bihár, which has not been written under Government orders, or Government influence. Missionaries, on the contrary, whose business it is to make their writings popular, are writing tracts and Bible translations in Biháí.

Before proceeding to the final and most important argument brought against me, I wish to clear a misapprehension which I have found to exist amongst many of my critics. They seem to think that I have set my heart upon substituting Maithilí for Hindí, and that I have personal prejudices, which have led me to do this. I wish, therefore, here to make it perfectly plain that I wish no such thing at present. All that I have argued for, reiterating over and over again, is that Biháí should be considered a language, and that some one of its three principal dialects, Bhojpúí, Maithilí or Mágadhí, should be made its standard. That is the principle which I am trying to establish, and all that I wish or hope to establish at present. *Which* dialect should be selected for its standard is a subsequent consideration, and cannot be decided until the principle is agreed to. That once settled, the subsidiary matter can come up for discussion and decision on its merits, and it is perfectly immaterial to me at present, which is the dialect to be selected.

I now come to the last and most important objection brought

against me. It is roundly denied by my opponents that the language of East Hindústán does differ radically from that of West Hindústán. They say it may be admitted that the dialects of East and West "vary from one another and from that of literature, in some points; but their organic differences are slight, and have a tendency to grow less and less." This is the language of the most polite of my opponents,—others have ridiculed my statements, and another has called me dogmatic, on the same point. If being dogmatic means being in earnest, I am free to admit that I am so, for this point is the vital one of my argument. If my opponents can prove that their side of the question is the true one, my whole argument falls to the ground; and I will willingly promise never to venture on the treacherous ice of philology again. But here I am placed at a disadvantage. I, in my former article, did offer some slight proof towards my thesis, while they on their side have offered no argument beyond the base logic of bare assertion. They may be correct, but I do not know their arguments. If I leave the matter unproved, they may spring an unsuspected mine upon me. I do not know what to attack, for I do not know from what battery they are prepared to fire their heavy artillery. Nevertheless, I am ready to accept the challenge, and to prove beyond a doubt that the languages of Eastern and Western Hindústán are radically and organically different in origin, pronunciation, derivation, grammatical inflexion, syntactical construction, and vocabulary. It will be going over for the most part well-trodden paths, and for the average reader will be, I fear, terribly dry reading, but I cannot meet one bare assertion with another equally bare counter-assertion. I am called upon to justify my position, and I am compelled to accept the challenge.

First, as to **origin**. Fortunately, I am not compelled to give a history of the rise of Hindí and Bihárí in all its details. That has already been given by Dr. Hoernle in his Gaudian grammar, and in a former article by him in this review. I may, therefore, take it as an established fact, which has never been disproved, that in the earliest ages there were two vernaculars current in India, running alongside of the literary Sanskrit, which occupied an altogether peculiar position, and was never, in its literary form, a vernacular. These two languages in the year B. C. 300 divided Northern Hindústán between them. One of them,

Śaurasení was the language of the West—the other, Mágadhí was the language of the East. There was also the neutral Ardha Mágadhí current in the border tract between them. These two languages have nearly kept their position and have there developed until the present day. That is to say, Śaurasení

has developed into the modern Naipálí, Hindí, Panjábí, Sindhí and Gujarátí, and Mágadhí has developed into Maráthí, Biháří, Bangálí, Uṛiyá and Assamese. The very earliest linguistic documents we possess on the subject, show Śaurasení and Mágadhí as distinct languages, and separate grammatical treatises of each are extant. Hence it appears that at least two thousand two hundred years ago the ancestors of Hindí and Biháří were distinct languages: and it would be a strange thing if they had since then merged into one language. I have thus, I hope, shown that my first statement is true, *viz.*, that Hindí and Biháří are different in origin.

Second, as to **Pronunciation**. This is a small point, hardly worth proving, but I have promised to prove it.

The Biháří forms which I shall hereafter quote, will be, unless the contrary is especially stated, taken from the Bhojpúrí of Sháhábád and Sáran, which dialect is almost identical with that of Banáras, and, being the most western of the Bihár dialects, is hence *a priori* most likely to have the greatest number of forms agreeing with those of Hindí.

(1). Biháří affects dental, and Hindí affects cerebral letters. Biháří continually uses *r* or *n*, where Hindí has *l*.

Examples are—

BIHARÍ.	HINDÍ.
<i>parab</i> , to fall,	<i>parná</i> .
<i>phar</i> , fruit,	<i>phal</i> .
<i>gáří</i> , abuse,	<i>gálí</i> .
<i>nangot</i> , a waistcloth,	<i>langot</i> .

(2). While Hindí sometimes omits medial *h*, Biháří, on the contrary, has a distinct tendency to insert *h* as a mere euphonic letter.

Example—

<i>dihal</i> , he gave.	<i>diá</i> .
-------------------------	--------------

(3). While Biháří never tolerates an initial *y* or *w* except in interjections, Hindí not only does tolerate them, but even inserts them euphonicallly.

Examples—

<i>í</i> , this,	<i>yah</i> .
<i>ú</i> , that,	<i>wah</i> .
<i>delak</i> , he gave,	<i>diá</i> or <i>diyá</i> .

(4). Biháří has (like Bangálí) the short vowels, *ě*, *ǎ*, *ǫ*, and *ǻ*, which are unknown to Hindí.

Examples—

<i>bětiya</i> , a daughter,	<i>bitiyá</i> .
<i>bǫláwat</i> , calling,	<i>buláwat</i> .

compare the Bangálí *gǫm*, wheat, and *běkti*, a person

(5). Biháří generally prefers to retain the hiatus *aï* and *aü* while Hindí always contracts them to *ai* and *au*.

Examples—

BIHARÍ.

baïsaï, he sits,

aür, and,

HINDÍ.

baithe.

aur.

Thirdly, as to **Derivation**.

(1). The singular genitive case of the personal pronouns has in Biháří a medial *o*, but in Hindí a medial *e*.

Example—

mor, my,

tor, thy,

merá.

terá.

(2). Biháří prefers masculine nouns in their weak form, ending in a silent consonant, where Hindí prefers them in their strong form with a final *á*.

Examples—

ghor, horse,

loh, iron,

bar, great,

mor, my,

det, giving,

parhal, read,

ghorá,

lohá.

bará.

merá.

detá.

parhá.

(3). While Hindí uses, as a rule, only the short form of the pronouns, Biháří has generally also a long form in *n*.

Example—

Se or *taun*, he,

only *so*.

(4). While Hindí declines its nouns entirely with the aid of postpositions, Biháří has in most of its dialects true inflections for the instrumental and locative, which are utterly unknown to High Hindí.

Examples—

From the Maithil dialect.

ghoreñ, by a horse,

bateñ, by a word,

ghore, in a horse,

báte, in a word,

ghore se.

bát se.

ghore meñ.

bát meñ.

Fourthly, as regards **Grammatical inflexion**.

This must be noted at some length. For languages are classed according to morphology, that is to say, according to their grammatical forms. The striking difference between the grammatical forms of the two languages will be apparent from the

following. In selecting Examples, I have been careful to take words whose stems are common to all the Aryan languages of India, in order to show, as clearly as possible, inflexional differences only:—

A. Declension.

(1). Biháří does not possess the active case in *ne* which we meet in Hindí.

Example—

BIHARÍ.

HINDÍ.

ú kailas, he did,

usne kiya.

(2). The oblique form singular of strong masculine nouns in *á* has in Biháří a final *á*, but in Hindí a final *e*.

Example—

ghorá kě, of a horse,

ghore ká.

(3). Nouns ending in a silent consonant have, in some Biháří dialects, an oblique form in *a* or *ě*; but in Hindí such forms are unknown. An example from the Mágadhí dialect is—

ghar, a house,

ghar.

gharě sañ, from a house,

ghar se.

Similar forms exist in the other dialects, but belong to the *theth* and not to the *kharí boli*, and hence they are not given here, as I only wish to exemplify the latter.

(4). The Biháří verbal noun in *l* makes its oblique form end in *á*. Thus *máral*, the killing, *már'lá me*, in the killing. This form does not occur at all in Hindí.

(5). In Hindí the genitival postpositions are *ká*, *ke* and *kí*, and their use depends upon two factors: (a) whether the governing noun is in the direct or oblique form, and (b) whether it is masculine or feminine. Thus, *uská ghorá*, *uske ghore par*, *uskí ghorí*, *uskí ghorí par*. In Biháří this is not the fact. There are generally two sets of genitival postpositions: (a) one which never changes, as *okar ghorá*, *okar ghorá par*, *okar ghorí*, *okar ghorí par*, and (b) a set which changes according as the governing noun is in a direct or an oblique case, but not changing for gender. As *ók'rě ghorá*, *ók'rě ghorí*, *ók'rá ghorá par*, *ók'rá ghorí par*. In some dialects there are genitival postpositions which change according to the gender of the governing noun, but then they are not affected by its being direct or oblique: thus (Mágadhí) *ók'rá ghorá*, *ók'rá ghorá par*, *ók'rí ghorí*, *ók'rí ghorí par*.

(6). Finally, the postpositions used in the declension of Biháří nouns, differ from those in use in Hindí, as is illustrated by

the following paradigm of *ghorá*, a horse, declined in the singular :—

	BIHARI.	HINDI.
Nom.	<i>ghorá</i>	<i>ghorá.</i>
Acc.	<i>ghorá kē</i>	<i>ghore ko.</i>
Instr.	<i>ghorá ten</i>	<i>ghore se.</i>
Dat.	<i>ghorá lá</i>	<i>ghore ke liye.</i>
Abl.	<i>ghorá señ</i>	<i>ghore se.</i>
Gen.	<i>ghorak</i> (unchangeable) or <i>ghorá kē</i> (direct) <i>ká</i> (oblique)	<i>ghore ká</i> (masc. dir.), <i>ke</i> (masc. obl.) <i>kí</i> (fem.)
Loc.	<i>ghorá me</i>	<i>ghore meñ.</i>
The nominative plural is		<i>ghore.</i>
	<i>ghoran</i> or <i>ghorá sa.</i>	

(7). The declension of pronouns is altogether different in the two languages.

Examples are—

{	Nom.	<i>ham, I</i>	<i>maiñ</i> or (plur.) <i>ham.</i>
	Obl.	<i>ham'rá, me, Gen. mor, hamár, my</i>	<i>mujh (ko), or ham (ko). Gen. merá, hamárá,</i>
{	Nom.	<i>teñ, thou</i>	<i>tú.</i>
	Obl.	<i>tōh'rá, thee, Gen. tōhár, thy</i>	<i>tujh (ko,) Gen, terá</i>
{	Nom.	<i>í, this</i>	<i>yah.</i>
	Obl.	<i>ēk'rá or ēh, this, Gen. ekar.</i>	<i>is (ko). Gen. iská.</i>
{	Nom.	<i>je, who</i>	<i>jo.</i>
	Obl.	<i>jēk'rá or jēh, whom, Gen. jekar.</i>	<i>jis (ko). Gen. jiská</i>
{	Nom.	<i>keú, anyone</i>	<i>koí</i>
	Obl.	<i>kēk'ro anyone</i>	<i>kisí(ko).</i>

B. Conjugation.

(1). Hindī has one tense only which is not periphrastic, the present conjunctive. The imperative is really the same as the present conjunctive, differing only in the second person singular. The future is the same as the present conjunctive, the termination *gá* being affixed to it. The other tenses are all periphrastic, that is to say, they are formed by conjugating an auxiliary verb, with a participial form. Biháří on the contrary has five separate and distinct non-periphrastic tenses.

(2). The conjugation of the auxiliary verb is totally different

in the two languages, as the following examples conjugated only in the masculine will shew :—

		BIHARI.	HINDI.
<i>Present.</i> I am.	Singular.	1 <i>bátin</i>	<i>hún.</i>
		2 <i>bátas</i>	<i>hai.</i>
		3 <i>báte, or bá</i>	<i>hai.</i>
	Plural.	1 <i>bátin</i>	<i>haiñ.</i>
		2 <i>báta</i>	<i>ho.</i>
		3 <i>bátan</i>	<i>haiñ.</i>
<i>Past.</i> I was.	Singular.	1 <i>rah'lín</i>	<i>thá.</i>
		2 <i>rah'las</i>	<i>thá.</i>
		3 <i>rahal</i>	<i>thá.</i>
	Plural.	1 <i>rah'lín</i>	<i>the.</i>
		2 <i>rah'la</i>	<i>the.</i>
		3 <i>rah'lan</i>	<i>the.</i>

(3). Biháí has a present indicative, which has no counterpart in Hindí. It is thus conjugated in the masculine :—

I see.	Singular.	1 <i>dekhílá</i>	no such tense existing.
		2 <i>dekhale</i>	
		3 <i>dekhalá</i>	
	Plural.	1 <i>dekhílá</i>	
		2 <i>dekhala</i>	
		3 <i>dekhale</i>	

(4). The future tense in Biháí again differs totally from that tense in Hindí as follows :—

I shall see.	Singular.	1 <i>dekháb</i>	<i>dekhúnqá.</i>
		2 <i>děkh'be</i>	<i>dekhegá.</i>
		3 <i>dekhí</i>	<i>dekhegá.</i>
	Plural.	1 <i>děkh'bí</i>	<i>dekheñge.</i>
		2 <i>děkh'ba</i>	<i>dekhoge.</i>
		3 <i>děkhiheñ</i>	<i>dekheñge.</i>

(5). The preterite indicative differs totally in the two languages. I give an example of an intransitive verb, as showing the Hindí forms better—

I fell.	Singular.	1 <i>gir'lín</i>	<i>girá.</i>
		2 <i>gir'le</i>	<i>girá.</i>
		3 <i>giral</i>	<i>girá.</i>
	Plural.	1 <i>gir'lín</i>	<i>gire.</i>
		2 <i>gir'la</i>	<i>gire.</i>
		3 <i>gir'lan</i>	<i>gire.</i>

(6). The present conjunctive agrees pretty nearly in the two

languages. But it is a well-known fact that this tense is practically the same throughout all the Northern Indian languages from Maráthí to Bangálí.

(7). Biháří has (like Bangálí) an elaborately conjugated preterite conjunctive. To save space I do not give it for the purposes of comparison, as Hindí has no such tense at all, using the present participle as a substitute. Thus, Biháří, *joñ ham dekh'tín* if I had seen ; but Hindí, *jo main dekh'tá*.

(8). The participles differ in the two languages, as follows:—

Present	<i>dēkhañt</i> ,	seeing,	<i>dekh'tá</i> .
Past	<i>dekhal</i> ,	seen,	<i>dekhá</i> .

(9). As the participles differ in the two languages, and as the auxiliary verbs also differ, it follows that, even where their mode of formation is the same, the periphrastic tenses must be totally different in form. But this is not the only cause of difference. In the two languages the periphrastic tenses also differ in their mode of formation as follows:

(10). In Hindí the perfect and pluperfect tenses are formed by adding the auxiliary verb to the past participle. The auxiliary verb is then alone conjugated. Thus, *main girá hún*, I have fallen ; *tú girá hai*, thou hast fallen ; *wah girá hai*, he has fallen. Besides forming its perfect and pluperfect in this way, Biháří also forms them by adding an obsolete form of the third person singular of the auxiliary verb to the preterite, which last, and not the auxiliary, is then conjugated. Thus, *ham gir'lín há*, I have fallen ; *teñ gir'le há*, thou hast fallen ; *ú giral há*, he has fallen.

(11). In the periphrastic tenses of transitive verbs in Biháří the perfect participle is used in its oblique and not in its direct form. This is not the case in Hindí. Thus *ham dekh'lě bátín*, I have seen.

(12). The verbal noun, or infinitive, differs in the two languages. Hindí has one verbal noun in *ná* as *dekh'ná*, and another in *á* as *dekhá*. In Biháří there are three forms of the verbal noun. One in *ab* as *dekháb*, one in *al* as *dekhal*, and a third only used in the oblique form in *ě* as *dekhě*.

(13). In Biháří the causal verb is formed by adding *áw* to the root of the simple verb, while in Hindí it is formed by adding *á*. Thus, Biháří *karáwal* to cause to do ; but Hindí *karáná*.

I have now gone through every possible form of nouns, pronouns and verbs, and have shown that, with the single exception of one tense, which is common to all the modern Aryan languages of India, there is not a single grammatical form in Biháří, which is the same as the corresponding one in Hindí. On the contrary the vast majority are so widely different,

that it is impossible to consider them as belonging to a common language.

Fifthly, as regards **syntactical construction**, there is one great difference, that, in the case of the past tense of transitive verbs, Bihárí possesses a regular active construction with a proper active past tense, whereas Hindí uses a passive construction with the help of the active case (in *ne*) of the subject.

Sixthly, as regards **vocabulary**, it must first be noted that all the modern Aryan languages of India have very similar vocabularies. The languages differ most in their terminations and inflexions, and have a common stock of meaning stems on which to graft each its peculiar grammatical forms. Nevertheless, some of the commonest and most important vocables are altogether different in Bihárí and Hindí. The following are examples :—

	BIHARI.	HINDI.
good,	<i>níman, ník,</i>	<i>achchhá,</i>
bad,	<i>adh'láh,</i>	<i>burá.</i>
he is,	<i>bá,</i>	<i>hai.</i>
he was,	<i>rahal,</i>	<i>thá.</i>
he became,	<i>bhel,</i>	<i>huá.</i>
throw,	<i>bhígah,</i>	<i>phenko.</i>
bring,	<i>ánah,</i>	<i>láo.</i>
not (prohibitive,)	<i>jin, janí,</i>	<i>mat.</i>
for,	<i>bade, lel,</i>	<i>liye.</i>
but,	<i>báki</i>	<i>lekin, parantu.</i>

I have, now, I hope, proved to the satisfaction of the most sceptical, as I promised, that Bihárí and Hindí are radically and organically different in origin, pronunciation, derivation grammatical inflexion, syntactical construction, and vocabulary. Much of what I have written has been written before, and by more capable pens* than mine, but I do not think that all the proofs have ever been thrown together till now, and though I do not by any means profess to have exhausted every means of comparison, I think I have written fully enough to throw upon my adversaries the burden of proof that "organic differences of Bihárí and Hindí are slight, and have a tendency to grow less and less."

No one who has mixed intimately with people of all classes in Bihár, can fail to see how all cordial intercourse between governors and governed is impeded by this language of politeness,

* I cannot sufficiently express my obligations to Dr. Hoernle's *Gaudian*

Grammar. I have in many places used his very words.

Hindí, which, admirable though it be, cannot but act as a barrier to that thoroughly free communication which it is the object of every well-wisher of India to encourage. Few Englishmen can express themselves freely and accurately in conversation with a German through the medium of French, nor, by parity of reasoning, can they do so with a Bihárí through the medium of Hindí.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

BANKIPORE:
27th July 1881.

ART. VIII.—SOCIAL LIFE IN BENGAL FIFTY YEARS
AGO, BY AN OLD INDIAN.

IT is my intention to jot down in the following pages my recollections of Bengal society as it was fifty years ago. India was not then what it is now. Every thing has altered. The boundaries have altered, and are, indeed, altering every day before our eyes. The India of those days did not include Oude, the Punjab and Scinde; in fact, the greater portion of what now really constitutes India had not yet been conquered. Neither Lord Gough nor Sir Charles Napier had won his splendid victories in the Punjab and Scinde, nor had Sir Henry Lawrence fallen at Lucknow. Bengal had not yet been sunk into a mere province of a vast empire, rivalling China, but was the chief possession of the British in Asia, their veritable pagoda tree. A race of British officials and planters thrived and flourished there, of whom none are left now. The young men of those days, in the very few instances where they are yet alive, have now become old and grey-headed, and are living a very retired life on their past official and private earnings. Even the race of old Indian natives, down to the very servant-class, has passed away. With the passing away of the "ancients" and the "ancient landmarks," manners and society have altered, play has altered, though here, in hunting and in racing, much of the old traditions linger; and even work is different from what it was. This will be seen more in detail as we proceed; suffice it to say here, what every old Indian of even a quarter of a century ago—the transition period—now living will know, that Indian society, men, manners, work and play, are now so entirely altered, that it is almost impossible to recognise the India of their time in the India of the present day.

Though I deal with the past, and with a very striking subject, I do not pretend to bring to it the descriptive powers and literary ability of a Kaye, or a Hunter. Whatever is here offered must be received by the readers and critics of the present day with indulgence. It is offered simply and heartily, by one who has lived and moved in the scenes he describes, and the cunning of whose right hand is fast forsaking him; one who is feeling the truth of Solomon's old saying, that even the light springing of the grasshopper becomes a serious burden to contemplate.

I have known, in those early days which I review, some who were in every way better qualified to take up such a work; whose experience again reached even a quarter of a century beyond the period here treated of; who saw what Bengal was

when first acquired ; who were the pioneers of the great Western civilisation in a densely barbarous heathen land, shut out from the light for so many thousands of years ; who had themselves to represent the honour and courage and high name of the Briton in vast districts, as large as English counties, in the interior, where the arm of the new-born English law, or of English medicine, had not yet penetrated ; who could relate many an anecdote of Governors-General, then Governors of Bengal, whom they personally knew ; and who also lived and moved in the scenes described here. Facile of pen, educated in ancient seats of learning, noble of mood, and even of blood ; conversationalists to a degree that would have struck even the immortal Johnson with astonishment, and perhaps envy ; with rich funds of practical wisdom, experience and anecdote ; they have, alas ! passed away with all their sterling qualities and invaluable knowledge. Brave and rare old men they were. We shall never see their like again !

There are one or two yet living who are able for the task I undertake ; hale elders who still defy time ; but alas ! they are, however young in feeling, covered with the snow of age : their fingers are stiff, though their grasp of the hand be hearty and strong ; and lest I, too, soon attain to that condition when writing much and long shall become an unnecessary burden, I deem it necessary to myself to take up the work lest that great misfortune should happen, as every one, I am sure, will consider it, that those early times should go unrecorded and remain quite a blank.

Having thus stated my intention, —and apologised for undertaking to carry it out, let me state finally, the way in which I hope to do so, or the plan of this work. In an introductory chapter I shall show the different sets and classes of people of those days, and probably describe a large “ station ” as it existed then. In the second chapter I shall detail the social life of fifty years ago. The third chapter will depict our fathers at work. The fourth chapter will show them in their sports or at play.

In concluding these preliminary observations, let me remind my readers that half a century is more than a life-time in India ; nay more than two life-times. The changes are so rapid, so marked, and so numerous, that often in the space of ten years a new order of things appears on the scene, and in twenty years even old and familiar faces have passed away.—Alas ! and, again alas ! that it should be so.

I.—The three “ Sets.”

There were in those days only three “ sets ;” I mean of Europeans in each “ station,” two of blue porcelain, and one of common

clay. I should rather say that three sets were always to be found in the larger stations. The blue porcelain were the civil and military, and the common clay was the independent, interloping, planting element. I do not imply by this that those in the civil and military all belonged to the blue blood of the aristocracy of great Britain (Ireland was not of very great account in those days, and besides had no "interest" for fifth and sixth cousins, and hence the few Irish names in those early times in India); or that the common clay independent element was of the lower class. There was good or rather high blood unevenly distributed throughout the three. There were not a few, even among the common clay set, of ancient and well known families in England and Scotland; the meaning of three distinct "sets," and the difference implied between blue porcelain and common clay, must be explained.

By three distinct sets, I mean that the Europeans—for there were sometimes French and Portuguese and Greeks, besides Britons—were divided by the nature of their occupations, civil, military, and independent, into three bodies, on the same level as regards private social position, but otherwise, disjoined one from another. The planters and merchants had their own public official status, which was that of tolerance and sufferance. Their interests pulled together, and in one direction. They were the British element in India, actively engaged in solving the problem of India's material advancement—a very difficult one to solve in those early days. According to present notions they generally wanted too much; according to the expectations of those days they actually got too little. They often had to appear, of course, by their native Court agents, in the different courts before the civilians; and otherwise might be indebted to them for official sunshine and favors. Of course, these were returned with compound interest in the shape of balls, hunts, subscriptions, and general hospitality. So this body, or "set," pulled together in one direction in all that related to their public and planting interests. In the same way, while the civilians were one in social status with the planters, and stood indebted to them for numerous private favors, there was a large interchange of courtesies all round; they, the civilians, stood aloof from the independent element in all that related to their official duties and interests, and pulled together in another direction, and this direction often happened to be against the interests of the former set. Hence there arose a partial feeling of jealousy and exclusion between the two sets, which was never referred to in private, but which found expressive vent in public measures. Doubtless this partial feeling of jealousy was increased by the planters witnessing the great power possessed,

and often wielded monomaniacally, by the civilians; while the latter again saw with a feeling akin to envy the ease with which the planters acquired great fortunes;—I may add, and lost them, too! I must add, with regard to the old civilian set, that each reckoned himself a viceroy, or at the very least, a governor. This of course made them carry their heads rather high. But like the early planters, in everything that did not concern their peculiar interests, a finer body of gentlemen than these civilians it would have been difficult to find. Frank, open, generous and hospitable, they stood as bright examples to those who have succeeded them.

The third and remaining set comprised the military, where there were any; and generally, it may be stated, except at a few large stations, there were none, while at the larger purely military stations they were to be found in considerable numbers. The few European regiments were always needed at a few strategic points, and the rest were Sepoy regiments. The officers were in the employ of the Honorable East India Company, a word of power once and in every one's mouth, and were generally called "Company's Officers" in contradistinction to the "Queen's Officers." The former comprised the set I write about, were a fine body of gentlemen and officers, drew handsomer allowances, and had better pay and prospects than the latter. Very often they happened to be drafted off to civil employ; and if they did not actually despise their brethren in the Royal service, they thought very little of them, and pitied the "poor fellows," who were liable any day to be sent off to Canada or the West Indies, who had such poor pay, and who had no prospect of ever attaining to the charge of an Indian province. Generally the Company's officers were remarkably efficient in their own proper duties, and very popular among both the other two sets, as their duties never clashed with the peculiar interests of either. The military band not only "discoursed sweet music" to the "station" on stated days in the week, when all the three sets turned out and chatted together pleasantly at the band-stand, but on the occasion of balls, provided the great element which set fashionable quadrilles in motion, polkas then not having come into vogue. Hence, as the band was at the gift of the Commanding Officer of the station, he was generally conciliated and thought much of. Besides, there were the mess dinners, invitations to which were considered an honor. The officers kept much among themselves, but were always very welcome everywhere.

The exclusiveness, which, it may be imagined, reigned in Bengal in those days, was as nothing compared with what it became a few years later on, when the civilians gradually came to regard themselves as alone privileged to deal with the destinies of the country. The fulsome flatteries and servile adulation of a long down-trodden

oriental race served only to feed their official vanity. A strong *caste* feeling grew up among them; and as more Europeans came into the country, and some of them trades people, society, which was one before and comprised the three sets, gradually began to draw marked distinctions, and to be divided into several classes. The highest class remained what was the all of society once, that is, the three sets previously described. The next class consisted of the tradesmen who kept shops or trafficked in small ware, and with them were reckoned the higher clerks and assistants in the various offices. Indigo planters, assistants, though in the receipt of comparatively small allowances, were in those days often the cousins, near or far removed, of the owners of the concerns, and specially imported from home to try their hands at making a fortune out in the East, and therefore were reckoned among the "Upper Ten." Such assistants, however, as were engaged in the country, whether stray Europeans, or descendants of the early French and Portuguese settlers who were called "half-castes," were reckoned a lower class. Besides these there were the Christian Armenians.

The Armenians, in those early days, mustered in sufficient numbers in some stations to be noticed in detail here: They had their own Church and a minister or priest from Persia or Armenia; they dressed in the loose oriental flowing garb, though latterly they had begun to copy English fashions when out of doors; lived comfortably in spacious houses, and sometimes owned considerable landed and other property. They had no poor among them; their ladies, as may be expected from a race coming from the foot of the Caucasian ranges, were among the fairest of the daughters of Eve. Oppressed in their native land by Moslem rulers, Persian and Turk, numbers of them, in the middle ages and later on, left their country, generally with their families, in search of a peaceful home elsewhere. They were thus next to the Jews, whom they much resembled in feature, and even in traits of character, travelling hawkers, precious stone merchants, and, when settled, money-lenders to their neighbours. Wherever they found a government more tolerant than the one that ruled their native land, and saw profit to be made, they settled down. Hence it happens that colonies of Armenians, the descendants of the old settlers, are found existing at the present day not only in India but in Venice, the great commercial centre of the middle ages, in Constantinople, and in parts of Russia. Whatever may have been their experience in Constantinople, in India they found a Mohamedan government extremely tolerant of their presence, and a country teeming with people and riches. Hence they gradually increased

their numbers by getting out relatives and others, and, though at first not allowed to erect their own churches, they managed to pass among the natives for a "sect" called "Nazrani," or Nazarenes, *i. e.*, Christians. It is true, that even in India they were squeezed now and then by Nabobs (viceroys), and had perhaps to part with a too lovely daughter or sister to recruit the harems of their rulers; but generally they remained unmolested. But for their fairer complexion, they would have passed unnoticed by a stranger among the other inhabitants of the country. The advent of the British, and with them a stable government, stable titles to landed property, freedom to erect churches, and enjoy all the ordinances of their religion, new manners and customs, induced several changes among them. They built better dwelling-houses, purchased landed property, entered more freely into trade, erected handsome churches, imported priests, and, while in doors they continued to dress in their old oriental style, in public they gradually assumed the European costume of coat and trowsers. Further, under Moslem rule, their females had always been kept strictly immured, but now they appeared freely in public, and drove about in costly carriages. With all these changes, however, they still remained Orientals in talk, manners, habits and nature. Very few knew English; they sat cross-legged, and on carpets on the floor while at home; oriental dishes graced their tables; and, as may be expected, they were cunning, overreaching and suspicious. Such were the Armenians of fifty years ago in India. A great change, however, has since come over them. European costume has been assumed both at home and abroad; every one knows English; English manners have been adopted; English habits and modes of thought have crept in; even their very names have been anglicised. Thus, while before, but for their complexion, they could hardly be distinguished from the natives; now (only that their thoroughly oriental cast of features betrays them) it is impossible to distinguish them from the British. Owing to the paucity of the female element among the British in India in those early days, and the glitter of a golden dower which the fair Armenian young lady possessed, several Englishmen intermarried into Armenian families.

They were received equally by the two classes of European society before mentioned. Along with some few descendants of Greeks, they were allowed a considerable latitude in the interpretation of social rules by the upper ten, beyond what was extended to the poorer class of Europeans. In time, however, while some few Armenians rose up to the level of the higher class, most of them found their level in the second class. The Greeks showed even less progress.

The Station.

The use of this word still obtains in India, although it was at first applied in times when the recent military conquest of Bengal necessitated the placing, or "stationing," of troops at different strategic points of the country. Hence in those early days the term was restricted and applied only to localities where the military were "stationed." As these localities were also generally the centres of native population, where a staff of civilians, judges, magistrates, &c., was kept up to administer the law and govern the district, the term came gradually to be distinguished by the further addition of civil or military, and thus localities came to be either both, or one or the other. Where both were united, the place was generally the chief city of a large extent of country, with a numerous and wealthy fixed native population. In such places there was usually a civilian of the highest class, called a Commissioner, who was subordinate only to the Governor-General (who was Governor also of Bengal, or who, from his position as Governor of Bengal, the leading and most important Presidency, was also Governor-General), there being no Lieutenant-Governor in those days. Such stations were called "civil" stations, and, except within the military lines, the civil authority was supreme there. In places where there was no civil element in the government, or where the civil element was of a subordinate kind, the military authority being supreme, the stations were called military stations. Calcutta itself was an example of the former, or to take a more appropriate one, Patna, while, adjoining it, Dinapore was an example of the latter. And before we pass on to describe our station, we may observe that this distinction into civil and military stations sometimes led to the most terrible and ludicrous feuds between the civil and military authorities, where, from its unimportance, a place was too insignificant to be specially marked out as civil or military, and there was a subordinate element of both in it, and both contended for the supremacy. In such instances each sought to exercise the command of the place. Often probably the contest lay in merely the sound of a word, or in something that the combatants could give no rational account of. But the whole station would be set by the ears, divided into two parties, one siding with the civil ruler, and the other with the military. These feuds seldom proceeded beyond cold nods, exclusion from invites to dinners, &c., while each strove to excel the other in pompous commands and general orders about the veriest trifles, or even nothing at all, and in a more vigorous prosecution of gaieties and amusements. In one instance, however, that comes to our

mind, where the civil official was a Scotchman and the Commander of the small military detachment was an Irishman, the quarrel came to such a pass, that the question of supremacy was actually referred to the higher authorities, with what result we forget, but we suspect to the discomfiture of the military. The bone of contention in this instance was the unfortunate Doctor, who in such places usually bore the double aspect of civil and military, being nominally reckoned in the latter, but really belonging to the former class. Having thus been prominently brought forward, instead of being left neglected in the interior all his Indian days, he was soon promoted to a high post and appointed to Calcutta. Some good thus resulted for at least one; and the truth of an old saying was exemplified in this instance, too, for a young lady was at the bottom of it all!

To proceed: our station, which we shall call Pogglepore (it boasted of a pretty well supplied Lunatic Asylum), was one which blended the civil and military elements in happy union; was an ancient native capital, like so many others in India, but at the same time was an important centre of trade and population; was situated in the interior, far removed from Calcutta and its cliques; was the centre of an extensive old Indigo planting country; contained all the different "sets," and "classes" already described, as well as a good many Armenians, and some few Greeks, who, like the former, had their own quarter, their separate church, &c.,; and hence in every way, even in the matter of natives, being both a Hindoo and a Mahomedan city, was well suited to show what Bengal was in those days, and exemplify our recollections of fifty years ago. It was such an important place, on the whole, that we might fill up a volume with its history, and an account of its peoples, languages, native trades, &c., and its present commercial and other capabilities. This has already been performed very faithfully, up to forty years back, by a worthy Doctor, who until lately was enjoying a vigorous green old age in his native highlands in Scotland, and who, we trust, still lives, one of the very very few surviving links connecting this with a past generation. Forty years back we have seen him grey in the hot damps of Bengal, as healthy and happy a specimen of humanity as could be found anywhere (those were the days of "giants"), and only eight years ago he could walk his twenty miles a day about his beautiful native town of Elgin; but alas!—thrice alas!—how few of his compeers, how few even of the writer's own compeers, survive to the present day. Even while we are copying this manuscript out fair for the printer, our hands almost drop powerless by our side at the fresh tidings of the decease of another—the most venerated,

loved, and respected, of them all, the guide of our youth and the friend of our age, for whose eye alone, in the first instance, this account has day by day, through many months and years, been written, in silent communion with whom it has been thought out and carried to an end.

The ancient city was, indeed, a remarkable one. Not only, as we have seen, has a work been devoted entirely to its history and description, but men high up in the civil service, as well as wealthy planters, have spent large sums of money in engraving and depicting scenes and old remains in and near Pogglepore in large and costly plates and panoramas before the days of the discovery of the photographer's art, such as has been done for no other town or city in any part of India, save, perhaps, Delhi. Pogglepore had been once a Mahommedan capital, and had before been an old wealthy Hindoo city. It was centrally situated on a fine river, for a large extent of productive country, the trade of which flowed to it for export to Calcutta, and even abroad as far as China. It had also numerous native manufactures; and annually held a "World's Fair" for centuries attended by Arab, Persian, Turkish, Cabul, Mogul, Burmese, and other traders, before the idea was mooted in the West and improved upon. It stood on the left bank of the river, on an elevated tract of very old date. Altogether the city extended for about two miles along the bank, with an average depth of about a mile. A couple of canals, either natural or dug, intersected the city north and south, uniting in the interior. Substantial masonry bridges crossed these canals at various distances and afforded continuous road ways. Small and large country boats lined the banks of the river and the canals, and plied a continuous traffic. A large Mahommedan fort of solid masonry with considerable architectural pretensions in parts, lay to the extreme west of the city. The Mahommedan portion of the city was confined to within a mile from this fort, while the Hindoo portion principally occupied the remaining mile to the east. The former was densely built upon with brick-houses down to the river's edge. The latter was sparsely built upon, and collections of thatched native huts intervened between the better class of houses. From this quarter broad flights of steps, called ghâts, led down to the river to permit the daily ablutions of the Hindoos, and it was along the banks here, too, that the principal European residences lay. Large brick mansions, two and more stories high, they were, such as had already begun to be erected in Calcutta. Each mansion had large grounds and handsome gardens attached. Stretching along the elevated bank of the river for more than a mile, the view

of the city from the water was superb, and not excelled by Old Garden Reach of Calcutta, before docks and steamers invaded it. For the rest, or the western half of the city, the view was almost one undistinguishable mass of masonry, mixed up with the domes and minarets of mosques, the spires of Hindoo temples, palatial *kuttras* (old free Hostelrys), narrow ghâts, terminated on the extreme west by the imposing high walls of the fort, frowning over the river. On the whole, the view of the city from the river was not surpassed anywhere in those days in India. Calcutta is a modern creation, and its type is different. Patna was only a mass of mean dwellings. Benares, so thoroughly Hindoo, old and Oriental, always presented a striking appearance from the opposite, or southern, bank of the river, but its type also was different. Neither Allahabad nor Cawnpore, though worth seeing from the river, was to be compared with Pogglepore. Lucknow was grand in its composite Oriental style, but its very narrow river presented no vantage ground for an extensive view. The fort and palace and Tâj of Agra, with its other celebrated ancient gardens and tombs of marble, together with imperial Delhi, were of course unrivalled, but their type was, like that of Benares and Calcutta, totally different. We can only compare like things with like. Lahore, with its great city, its fort, and the Badâmi Bâgh, presented a very pleasing, and even imposing, aspect, when the Ravee was at its full; but the picturesque appearance of Pogglepore was unrivalled. Every visitor spoke of it in terms of the highest admiration. People always in those days travelled by river in boats when they did not proceed overland by dâk; modes of travelling which will receive attention hereafter.

The city had its own different quarters for the different nationalities and trades, and its own public institutions. As before mentioned, the European residents lived on the bank of the river, and this was the part specially designated the "station." The military, consisting of a native regiment with its European officers, occupied an extensive plain, more than a mile distant in the interior, on the north. Here, too, with the native lines, there were a few fine residences for the colonel and other officers. The burial ground lay a little to the east, and there were some graves of Englishmen in it more than a century old. Adjoining the "station," on the bank of the river, stood the large remains of an old French "factory." One portion of the city was occupied by Hindoo shell-cutters, another by Hindoo weavers, another by Mahomedan masons, another by Mogul merchants, and so forth. The Armenians and Greeks lived in their own quarters, next to the Mahomedans, and separated by half a mile from the

European "station." Almost in the centre of the Mahomedan portion lay the "chowk," or daily bazaar, occupying an extensive open square. Here everything in the shape of Asiatic goods could be procured, from gold brocade to a glass of *sherbet*. Rows of low shops made of mats, with narrow lanes, covered the whole ground. In the morning the Square was lifeless and still; by 3 o'clock in the afternoon the shops began to open, and shortly after the entire Square with the roads, running on four sides of it, was alive with the busy hum of men, bargaining, buying, selling, and moving about. Immediately to the west of this "chowk" stood the largest of the Mahomedan mosques in the city. To the north, separated by a few streets, stood the *Hussainee Dawlân*, a pretentious structure, where annually the funeral obsequies of the Sheeah martyrs, Hassan and Hussain, were usually performed, in the style of the "miracle plays" of the middle ages. Half a mile to the west of the "chowk" stood the old fort called the *Lâl Bâgh*, which, rendered literally, means "the priceless gem of a garden," "lâl" meaning a fabulous gem of priceless value. A mile to the north of the native city, and well out of it, lay the Race Course, a fine picturesque spot, well laid out.

The fort, however, deserves more detailed mention:—It was the lion of the place, and there was none like it, or to compare with it, in all Bengal eastward of Benares. More than forty years ago its details were brought out, with splendid engraved plates, in a work which has passed into oblivion, by some enthusiastic admirer of antiquity in the civil service of those days, and now a copy of it will probably be found in only a few old English families, or in some dusty corner of the India Library. In figure the fort was almost square, with its sides facing the four cardinal points. The south faced the river, which in those days swept past the walls. The west side, too, evidently faced what in early times must have been a considerable bend of the stream, as it is all *chur* land, or river alluvial deposits, since built on, but in the times we write of still lying low, and partially used for cultivations. The north faced what must have been an extensive plain, now densely built upon. The east faced the great busy and crowded oriental city, than which there was none larger or more important in India eastward of Benares. From such portions of the walls as are still standing, their height seems to have been very considerable; and at a distance from the river must have presented quite as imposing an appearance as the great stone fort at Agra and Delhi. The gate-ways still partially standing on the north and east are grand, even in their decay. The material was baked brick, there being no stone

procurable near, and the cement used was so peculiar, that, after the lapse of ages, it is impossible to get the bricks out entire. The thickness of the walls was very great, being generally six feet, and in parts often more. There was a considerable display of architectural taste in the magnificent gate-ways. The north gate was walled up about a century or more ago by a native viceroy with an inscription recording an extraordinarily low price for rice which then prevailed. The interior grounds were laid out in gardens, splendid tanks, and buildings, two of which only call for remark. One appeared to be the State dungeon, where political prisoners or captured rebels were let down inside through narrow apertures on the top, and the other, a mosque-tomb of pure white marble, being a miniature representation of the great Agra Tâj Mahâl. Here lay the remains of a regretted and beautiful daughter of a previous Nabob or viceroy. Along the river walls on the south ran an extensive range of barracks or store-rooms under ground. When we last saw the fort, now many years ago, the larger portion of the surrounding walls was gone, and populous suburbs had been formed both to the west and south, where the river had receded very considerably. The fort itself was being used as police barracks! Town pic-nics also occasionally came off there!

Roads led from the city and "station" eastward for eight miles to a neighbouring small fort, and northward for nearly an equal distance to an old Portuguese settlement, which must have been once the field of a battle, from the name by which it is known now. A mile north beyond the native city lay the "station" race course in a picturesque spot.

Such was Pogglepore then—what is it now? The old fort has, we should think, quite disappeared, unless a ruin or two, still standing, serves to show its ancient site. A first-class English College has been erected on the site of the English "factory." The old French "factory" has been converted into a showy palace, by a Mahomedan, originally a draper or seller of native clothes, then a land-speculator, and now dignified with the title of Nawab. The canals have been dug, deepened and cleared. European mansions have sprung up in numbers on the banks of the river, and even higher up, and fine roads have been laid out through the town. Water has been brought at considerable cost into the town for domestic purposes. Public buildings of a pretentious character, hospitals, colleges, and court-houses, adorn various quarters of the city. A pretty iron suspension bridge spans the width of the eastern canal. The "military lines" have been removed to a position east of this canal, the finest and healthiest spot available. Steamers visit the station several times a week, carrying goods and

passengers to and fro; while the Railway itself is not far off. Finally, there is a Central Telegraph Office. We would, if we could, have again those early times, but it is no more possible to do so than to call back to life those manly forms and noble souls who were once by our side, and now lie in their last narrow resting places.

II.—*In Society.*

From the condition of the interior provinces of Bengal in those early times, and the state of things as described in the preceding pages, it may be anticipated that the details we proceed to furnish will be as unlike, as possible, to what we see round us at the present day. Social life in Bengal has altered greatly; indeed, has changed altogether from what it was. Formerly life was never dull, and that, too, when there were not the home magazines and thousand-and-one trifles of the present. The community, however small, moved together. There were certain amusements, and the most was made of them. There was large room for freedom of action; individuality and originality were not censoriously treated, or sternly repressed as crimes; and Mrs. Grundy was hardly known, save as a young lady in her teens. To contribute to the pleasure and happiness of the community, was a common object withal. In these modern days of the rapid march of improvement our interior provincial communities, however small, have little in common and are split up into still smaller sections; and Mrs. Grundy thrives in the full vigor of middle age. Amusements are rare, for the greed of money has set in, and there are too many to share in the old pagoda tree. The great wealthy planters who led the way in bringing people together and making things pleasant, are gone; and civil servants are now moved about from one place to another, before they have had time to look round them.

The Ladies.

The ladies, of course, must form the first subject of attention with us. We were far more gallant in those days, even if girls were birched in schools, and were not taught to regard "honors" in a Cambridge Examination as the great prize of life. Of course, there were very few of them, and those of any interior station might have been reckoned up on the fingers of one hand. A woman, who at all times is a marvel and a mystery, is a host in herself, and three or four ladies may be regarded as a Macedonian phalanx, conquering and unconquerable. In their peculiar sphere, from which they seldom obtruded themselves, their will was law, and if they did venture to go beyond

their line, it was with a womanly grace and tact that was charming to observe. Of course we are writing of the interior, and not of Calcutta, where the Grand Duchesses of society were nothing, if not political. There were, however, no politics in the interior. As the few representatives of the fair womanhood of the west of our early days, who had the pluck to share the hot and pestilential climes of the east, by the side of their husbands or brothers, they were regarded in very truth as good "ministering angels," and a deference was paid to them which resembled that of the days of chivalry. No race could come off without the presence of ladies. The colours for the jockeys were chosen by ladies. A grand tiger hunt, or, in other words, an extended pic-nic, with just that element of excitement in it that made things pleasant, could not be reckoned complete without ladies. And though there were none of the modern tribe of "bow-wows," even a ride would have been reckoned incomplete without a fair equestrian. Balls, of course, had ladies as their principal ornament and attraction. On grand occasions, neighbouring stations, were indented on for ladies, and sometimes the muster was not so poor as may be imagined. We refer to English ladies, for there were always some others, as Greeks and Armenians.

The English-born ladies of the station were, in most instances, connected with the civil and military services, and of good home families. In the days of their youth, Maria Edgeworth's *Moral Tales* had not appeared, and Fielding's and Richardson's held supreme sway in the matter of reading for even young ladies. The result was a spiciness of character and piquancy of behaviour, such as might perhaps be condemned by prim and starched morality, but which in those days was reckoned as only natural, perfectly virtuous, and even commendable. However religious a woman may have been,—and what woman is not?—there was not one who forgot that she was in the world—a world which necessarily required her presence and attention. As for anything actually loose and reprehensible, we may point out that Fielding's and Richardson's heroines always came out unsullied.

Those were days also of bonnets, for more than thirty years now gone out of fashion, and low-necked dresses, such as are now reckoned antiquated and unsuitable, yet we must confess that a pretty face used to look very well in a pretty bonnet. We remember the time when hats began to usurp the place of bonnets, hats of a shape and appearance now entirely lost, and they were not considered an improvement. The low-necked dresses, too, showing a good portion of the bust, were unexceptionable; but we have now become so moral, that we may cut short this portion of our remarks. There were also some other engaging

392 *Social Life in Bengal fifty years ago,*

portions of the feminine dress, which have long ceased to be worn, and the names even of which are unfamiliar to ladies of the present day. We pass them over as we do not recollect more than two or three of them; only let us state here that the ladies of the period we are glancing at, were not only very presentable and even pretty in personal appearance, but both tasteful and elegant in matters of dress.

Armenian ladies at home wore their own peculiar eastern costume, but this was set aside for European clothes in public. These fair Armenians were generally good-looking, some absolutely pretty. Bright, dark eyes, fringed with long lashes, arched eye-brows, meeting in the middle, a nose which was often perfection, oval faces and kissing lips, long brown hair, and shapely figures, with a light brunette or brownish rosy complexion; such was the dowry given by Nature to these comely eastern maidens, descendants of Sarah, whose beauty was so remarkable as to have tempted the king of Egypt of old. And besides this natural dowry they often had command of much money and lands. They were very welcome at the balls and other public amusements, as the races. From private social intercourse they were excluded owing to their general ignorance of English manners and language. A stray young officer or planter, however, would sometimes find his way to their houses, and in some in-

books of the ladies, paid a formal call when the whole establishment—peons, hurkarus, chobdars, abdars, &c., was moved to receive him. Long before the buggy or state-carriage had driven half way into the grounds, and the grounds were spacious about the residences, the house was astir, peons running, punkhas, if hot weather, set agoing, and almost before the visitors' turn-out had drawn up under the spacious portico, or he had set his feet on the ground, hurkarus and chuprasees were ready with folded hands to lead him in, when the lady of the house herself met him, with a face radiant with smiles, and ushered him into the sumptuously furnished drawing-room. Here he was speedily made comfortable on a rich couch or chair, and perhaps also there was another lady member of the house or visitor, and the master of the house if he happened to be in. The visits of ladies were occasions of almost equal cordiality, and greater ceremony, and were either briefer or much more prolonged. The formal visiting hour was in the afternoon. Of course, the lady of the Commissioner, who was then the Governor-General's Agent in the district, when he happened to have a wife, was reckoned the first in the station. If the Colonel had a wife, she generally took rank next, but not seldom the Judge's wife contested the place with her, and the result was a great deal of smart amusement among the gentlemen, except the two parties most nearly affected, and the split-up of the family.

portions of the feminine dress, which have long ceased to be worn, and the names even of which are unfamiliar to ladies of the present day. We pass them over as we do not recollect more than two or three of them; only let us state here that the ladies of the period we are glancing at, were not only very presentable and even pretty in personal appearance, but both tasteful and elegant in matters of dress.

Armenian ladies at home wore their own peculiar eastern costume, but this was set aside for European clothes in public. These fair Armenians were generally good-looking, some absolutely pretty. Bright, dark eyes, fringed with long lashes, arched eye-brows, meeting in the middle, a nose which was often perfection, oval faces and kissing lips, long brown hair, and shapely figures, with a light brunette or brownish rosy complexion; such was the dower given by Nature to these comely eastern maidens, descendants of Sarah, whose beauty was so remarkable as to have tempted the king of Egypt of old. And besides this natural dowry, they often had command of much money and lands. They were, therefore, very welcome at the balls and other public amusements, as the races. From private social intercourse, they were excluded owing to their general ignorance of English manners and language. A stray young officer or planter, however, would sometimes find his way to their houses, and in some instances got married to eligible parties.

Jackets were then universally worn by gentlemen, even as in 1825, in Bishop Heber's time, who states that he himself did not sometimes hesitate to wear them.

Calls and Visits.

These were very largely indulged in, and were either, as in the case of gentlemen, just a dropping in for a few minutes, or, as in the case of ladies, occasions of state, ceremony and formality. The younger male members of the "Upper Ten," including the junior officers, were always on the move during the day, now seeing one and now another, killing time—no, *passing* time—there was no *killing* it in those days—as pleasantly as they could, while the older members, too, would not seldom just take somebody for a few minutes on their way to or from cutcherry. These calls, of course, were *sans ceremonie*, and served to keep up the *entente cordiale* between the very few Europeans. There were, however, other calls of greater state and formality, participated in by both the female and male members among the older ones of the Honorable Company's fold. Sometimes an old bachelor, who somehow always happened to be rich, and therefore (?) in the good

books of the ladies, paid a formal call when the whole establishment—peons, hurkarus, chobdars, abdars, &c., was moved to receive him. Long before the buggy or state-carriage had driven half way into the grounds, and the grounds were spacious about the residences, the house was astir, peons running, punkhas, if hot weather, set agoing, and almost before the visitors' turn-out had drawn up under the spacious portico, or he had set his feet on the ground, hurkarus and chuprasees were ready with folded hands to lead him in, when the lady of the house herself met him, with a face radiant with smiles, and ushered him into the sumptuously furnished drawing-room. Here he was speedily made comfortable on a rich couch or chair, and perhaps also there was another lady member of the house or visitor, and the master of the house if he happened to be in. The visits of ladies were occasions of almost equal cordiality, and greater ceremony, and were either briefer or much more prolonged. The formal visiting hour was in the afternoon. Of course, the lady of the Commissioner, who was then the Governor-General's Agent in the district, when he happened to have a wife, was reckoned the first in the station. If the Colonel had a wife, she generally took rank next, but not seldom the Judge's wife contested the place with her, and the result was a great deal of silent amusement among the gentlemen, except the two parties most nearly affected, and the split-up of the female element into two *cliques* or parties, in which the Judge's wife had generally the larger following. The Doctor's and Chaplain's wives brought up the rears. The independent members of the small male community seldom had any wives or female relations.

When, therefore, a lady of a higher (official) rank paid a visit to one of lower, though socially of the same, class, there was more display of ceremony, and less ceremony when it was the Magistrate's or Doctor's wife visiting the Commissioner's or Colonel's. Where there existed no secret rivalries, of official position, influence or good looks, the cordiality of the reception was, however, the same. But when there did exist, for some cause or other, a rivalry, there was more of formality, and little cordiality. The Doctor's lady sometimes considered herself above the Chaplain's. And if the Magistrate's wife happened to be very attractive, and the Judge's merely passable, there was great rivalry between them, the former standing on her personal good fortune and powers of pleasing, and the latter on her husband's official position. If there were, as sometimes but rarely happened, two young ladies in different houses, there naturally existed a great deal of rivalry between them, and their respective seniors. Nearly every little thing relating to every one was

394 *Social Life in Bengal fifty years ago,*

known to every one else, sometimes even the hour at which his Judicial Majesty the Judge happened to wake.

Conversation.

And yet, in those days, scandal was not so much indulged in as the above facts, and the paucity of numbers, and isolation, would lead one to expect. Any scandal proper was generally confined to the ladies. The male element commonly pulled together without detracting from each other's merits. It was only in very rare instances that any gentleman was made the butt of uncharitable comment by his fellows. Humour there was in abundance, and even mirth and laughter at the expense of some obtuse or pachydermatous individual ; but they were not meant to hurt him, nor did they.

There were many things to talk about in those days. There were the daily local items of news, both private and particular and of general interest. Besides these, there was local *native khubber*, or *gup*. External and metropolitan (Calcutta) news, including movements and promotions of officials, Calcutta gossip, Government measures (and those were days of startling news sometimes) and English Mail news when it happened to be in, came in to supplement local matter. All these made up a very decent, if not heavy, budget, which passed on from one to another, till, by the evening, every one had become aware of every single item. Let us proceed to view these several sources of news.

Of local European news, matters of private and particular interest were such as related to births, marriages, and deaths. Of general and public interest were new arrivals, departures, projected changes, grand tiger hunts, races, balls, and even more modest shooting parties, dinners, some notable decision in court, the punishment or apprehension of some old native offender, prices of country produce, old some one meeting with a serious accident, and young such an one having been thrown from his horse. On such subjects much could and would be said ; and to meet and see some one during the course of the day was a necessity, if only to get in, and give out, the news. The local native *gup* consisted of items relating to every one, European and Native, and everything in general, the state of the crops, strange stories, &c., which came to be current in Native society and in native bazaars. Sometimes this native news was exceedingly uncomplimentary to individuals, and some scandal used to arise in this way. However, it was not much regarded, not because of the lying habits of the natives, but because of their different plane of moral life, which prevented them from seeing things in the same light as Englishmen.

The daily post came in by breakfast time (9 A. M. or 10 A. M.),

and formed or furnished the chief source of external news. Letters were real letters in those days, not of the 2-pice kind, but of the 2-annas, and often 4-annas postage sort, such letters are seldom written in these days, except by very old-fashioned people in out-of-the-way places. There were no duns, or tradesmen, pressing for a settlement of their bills in those days in India, and hence no letter was ever regarded with suspicion, but all were very welcome, unless black-bordered. The Post Office was a very slow and even cumbrous affair in those days as compared with what it is at present; but, though just four times the time was occupied in the transmission, and though the postage charges were considerable, and not paid by stamps, still it was far safer than the present arrangement. Every letter was *booked*, and the Post Office had to give a receipt for every letter sent, and took a receipt for every letter delivered. There was no mislaying or robbery of letters. The messenger who brought them did not throw them in to the first person he met at the gate and hurry off, but walked inside the grounds, and either saw the "sahib" himself, or sent in the post with the acknowledgment book through a bearer or peon to be signed. Our present mode of registering letters, is the remnant we possess of the correct practice of those days. The usual reading and discussion of the letters followed, and this was one of the most important and most pleasant processes of life in those days. There was no hurried glance over the contents, and tossing the letter away into a waste paper-basket. There was a careful perusal and study of it—reading, marking, learning, and inwardly digesting of it,—and then the letter was either carefully folded up again and laid by, or passed on to some other member of the family with some pithy or feeling comment. Business letters used to be reserved for after reading in the office and during work hours, of course, to such as had an office. Besides letters, there were newspapers. The two papers in Calcutta, nay, in all North India and Bengal, were the *Englishman* and the *Hurkaru*, both conducted with great spirit and rare ability, of course, the organs of the independent element and English sentiment throughout the country. The independent European community, the pioneers and makers of the present extensive trade of India, found their whole sympathies go forth with these journals, their hopes, as it were, bound up in them. The annual subscriptions stood at very high figures, but there was not one independent European in the country who did not subscribe to one or other, or to both, and accord them that moral support by which alone they could exist. These papers shot ahead and attained a prominence, influence and position, long before the Bombay and

Madras *dailies* appeared on the scene. The *Hurkaru* has long since been deceased; the *Englishman* still flourishes. Let us wish it a long life, if only for its traditions. There was also a weekly paper called the *Friend of India*, edited by the Baptist Missionaries of Serampore, and looked on as the organ of the official party. This paper, too, has ceased to exist, after having passed out of the hands of the Baptists.

After scandals, local news, news brought in by the post, either country or home, including newspapers, were exhausted, there remained further the movements of officials and the military. Although the stay of the last used to be regulated according to requirements, and was generally well known, sometimes the period would be extended. The civil servants had longer and more indefinite periods of stay. Whenever the news went out that any one was leaving, farewell dinner parties at which the bonds of fellow-feeling among the handful in a foreign land were drawn closer together, became the order of the day. Especially were the "big guns" thus treated. The military vied with the civilian element, and the independent with the other two, which should do the best. When the military cleared out, they themselves gave a good dinner, and were treated separately by the civilian and independent elements. The independent set seldom found themselves torn from their places, and were generally the permanent and abiding representatives of the British wherever they were, and the only element coming into business contact and relations with the inhabitants of the country. Official and military departures were often the subject of conversation for weeks,—nay, months, beforehand, but, a day or two after the event, gave away to fresher themes and events, their places being generally at once supplied by new comers.

Finally, domestic incidents, such as births, &c., though few in number, were proportionately important. Marriages were the rarest, not occurring sometimes for a number of years, till the traditionary ceremonies connected with them, of bridesmaids, favors, &c., were well nigh forgotten, and had to be raked up to recollection by the united efforts of all the ladies. The deaths, too, though few, came with a suddenness, and a mournfulness among the small community that was quite striking. The cloud and gloom cast over the station by such an event would not be removed for some time after. When any one was laid up, the doctor was the most important person in the small community. He was supposed to be fighting with grim death, and, indeed, he often was. We have known of one who had two sick cases at once thrown on him, and with little food, no rest and no sleep, attended by the bedside of one or other of the

patients for three days and nights. The births were the most frequent of the domestic events, and among these the incident of an elephant calving used to be generally known among the Doctor's male friends.

Meat and Drink.

Meal times were important occasions in those days, as they not only furnished the needed unbending of the bow kept usually strung to hard work, but brought the rougher in contact with the gentler sex, afforded a field for the exercise of some manners and even polish and furnished an occasion of agreeable and interesting conversation. Sometimes, too, there were one or more guests or visitors, and thus a dinner became a meeting ground of fellow countrymen in a strange land. Especially were dinner parties occasions of much moment.

Breakfast and dinner constituted the principal meals, and then every one was expected to be, and necessarily was, present. An early cup of tea or coffee, or even chocolate (we do not remember the existence of cocoa,) with a little toast and butter, *before* the morning ride or walk (there was no such substantial egg *chota hazri* coming *after* the ride as we have now); a lunch or tiffin at 1 P. M. to sustain nature till the late dinner: and tea or coffee after dinner, and not long following it; these completed the daily round of meals. The first, tea or coffee in the morning, was simply an expedient to refresh the system on waking and lay in a slight stock of nourishment previous to taking exercise. Some used to have this early "small breakfast" *after* their return. Generally this meal was taken in bed, the *khansamah's* assistant placing the cup, &c., on a small teapoy, or three-legged stand, near the head of the bed. When there were more than one who went out together, the fare was laid out in the breakfast-room, where every one adjourned for brief morning enquiries, and before getting on hat and gloves. No ladies were present at this, unless on special occasions, as at the time of the races, when they, too, were obliged to rise early and start with the gentlemen.

Breakfast was the first occasion when every one, ladies and gentlemen, met together, for generally more than half an hour, previous to separating for the day's work and duties. This meal was of the most cheerful description. With every one's face bright with the cheerful light of the morning, the glow of health and exercise, and the meeting of one with another, every one felt disposed for homely, kindly feeling. The post, too, often coming in at this time, every one had his or her letter; and, excepting business letters, they were all perused, and any news

398 *Social Life in Bengal fifty years ago,*

generally interesting passed on. A fresh newspaper, too, would perhaps be opened, to see if there was any thing particularly new and interesting, and then thrown aside for the evening. The meal itself consisted of standard Indian breakfast dishes, as *soojee* and milk, rice and *dkhall*, or *kedgeriee*, omelettes, half-boiled eggs, toast and butter, and tea or coffee. At 10 A. M. the breakfast-room was again deserted, the ladies had gone, and the gentlemen were engaged in their several occupations. At tiffin or lunch, though the ladies were present, and there was some little conversation, the party broke up early, each returning to his or her duties. The meal consisted of a cold piece of mutton or beef, some curry and rice, ale, bread and cheese, with perhaps a little wine.

It was, however, in the evening, after the drive, walk, or ride, and generally, too, after a bath to wash away the work, dust and heat of the day, that the principal meal of the day, dinner came off. Every one, as he or she got ready, assembled in the drawing-room, and as soon as the second bell rang, all proceeded in state to the dining-room, gentlemen and ladies often forming couples, and bachelors gracing the rear. This meal was in style, and the *khansamah* himself, who had been (or was supposed to be), so hard worked all day in making purchases, supervising operations, &c., that he had not been seen hitherto, now made his appearance, with all his assistants, sometimes three of them, and all in clean and neat Native dresses. As soon as the party were all comfortably seated, and perhaps a blessing asked, off went the lid of the soup-tureen, this being the special duty of the said butler. We are not aware that he did anything else in particular, except, often, pour out the wines and ale. The rest of the native waiters were generally fully occupied. The dishes at dinner consisted of soup, fish, roast or boiled mutton, or a round of beef, or chickens with potatoes and vegetables, curried meat or chicken with rice, puddings, custards and pastry, with a dessert of fruits to wind up with. This meal used to be well discussed, for it was a good stretch from 9 A. M. to 7 P. M., with only something to stay hunger with at 1 P. M., and with any amount of work and exercise to boot. When strangers were present, full dress was observed; and the flow of talk was literally a flow of soul. At parties, the display of plate and glass used to be magnificent, of course we write of one of the best houses of the time. The dinner lasted a good hour, till about 8 P. M., when the ladies rose and adjourned to the drawing-room. There after a further little discourse and discussing of wines, the gentlemen, too, repaired, and separated into groups, some engaging themselves to ladies, others glancing at the papers, and so on. We have no recollection in those days of seeing any pipes, now so common in smoking. Those who cared

to smoke could do so in an open balcony. After a considerable interval, the coffee or tea was brought in, with biscuits, and either handed to each, or placed on *teapoys* before each group.

Such were the meals and meal times of those days, and they were better in every way than even the best at the present day,* except at the houses of the very few remaining ancients. We ought not to pass over certain lunches given by bachelors. These were bachelor reunions, and the notable features about them were a freer license in talk, and a fuller acquaintance with ale, beer, and other drinks. The food and drink of those days were of the best quality. There were no imitation and cheap wines, and the mutton-clubs kept up at the stations furnished meat that would be the envy of the butchers of London. These clubs were formed by the principal residents of a station combining together and subscribing to purchase and keep up a special stock of sheep, specially tended and fed. The breed was the best procurable in the plains; and they were fed on *gram*—a hard and nutritious diet not forming fat, but rendering the meat tissues firmer, and imparting a very delicate flavor to the mutton. The flock was tended by a shepherd on the best pastures, and the distribution of the meat, and the accounts connected with the sheep, were attended to by a secretary chosen from among the subscribers. These mutton-clubs have now become general over North India, owing to the impossibility of getting good mutton from the native butchers. In stations where the winter permitted it, and the heat of the summer needed it, ice, which is now so common in the Plains, used to be collected and stored up for use in an ice-house. The ice-committee was formed on nearly the same principles as the mutton-club. An ice-house, specially constructed, having been erected, the ice formed every morning on the surface of shallow pans laid on straw in an open field with a bleak aspect, was collected and laid by till the winter was over. When the fiercest heats began, the supply of ice, too, began to the subscribers according to their rate of subscription. sometimes this supply lasted through the hot weather; at other times it failed just at the end, when it was most needed. This ice was used only for cooling water and wines. Generally, however, and in the absence of ice, the cooling process in vogue was by means of saltpetre in closed vessels of lead. In the better houses one servant, the *abdar*, an important personage in his line, specially attended to the filtering and cooling of the drinking water. Wines were cooled in a chest under the supervision of the butler himself. Though an orthodox Mussulman,

* The writer, it will be observed, is altogether a *laudator temporis acti*.—Ed., "C. R."

this functionary was believed generally to have his due share of the wines from the decanters and wastage.

The indigo-planters were noted for their hospitality and the open house they kept. There were always spare beds and spare rooms. Horses, servants, and conveyances were placed freely at the disposal of respectable travellers. The longest journey used to be broken by a series of the most pleasant visits which lived long in the memory, and served to draw closer the bonds of good fellowship between the white aliens. Those good times have now passed away with their men, their manners, and their meals. The *Englishman*, the paper referred to above, thus makes a note of the hospitality of the days that have fled, in a late issue* :—

“The days have long since gone by—and we look back to them with regret—of those large and friendly parties assembled for a few day's change in some hospitable house in the mufasal, where Calcutta, with its ceaseless toil and its thousand busy avocations, was left behind for a space, and where a fresher air and calmer surroundings brought a brief repose to the busy brain and restless mind. At an end, too, for the most part are the pleasant station race-meetings to which we can, most of us, look back with pleasure, where all was mirth, cheerfulness, and friendly and jovial intercourse; where for the few days of the meet the grim conventionalities and stiffness of ordinary English society were relaxed and softened; and where all in the station, from the mighty Commissioner himself, with his spacious house and his array of goodly tents, to the young assistant engineer, with his one modest spare room, vied with each other in cordially inviting and welcoming their friends, and in devoting themselves unweariedly to promoting their enjoyment.”

* Calcutta *Englishman*, August 24th, 1875, Overland Edition.

THE QUARTER.

SINCE we last wrote, an unexpected revolution in the aspect of affairs in Southern Afghanistan, has again concentrated public attention in India and England on that unhappy country. That the withdrawal of the British troops from Kandahar would be followed by a more or less severe struggle between Ayub and his rival was a foregone conclusion. That the first serious collision would result in the complete collapse of the Amir's cause, West of Kelat-i-Ghilzai, was probably not expected even by Ayub himself. Nevertheless in this case, the unexpected has happened, and it has happened in a way which is still far from having been satisfactorily explained. In the beginning of June, it will be remembered, two successful engagements fought by Abdul Rahman's troops in the neighbourhood of Girishk had justified the hope that, for some time at least, his position might be considered as secure as that of any Afghan ruler usually is. Had the contemptible character of Ayub's forces been known, this hope would probably have amounted to a firm assurance, which would have been further strengthened by the characteristic tardiness of his movements. It was apparently not till nearly the end of the month of June that he left Herat, and, though he pushed on to Naogad with creditable speed, he again delayed there several days, making overtures to the Amir's Governor, with the view, probably, of gaining time to detach the neighbouring chiefs from his cause, and sow disaffection among his troops. These overtures Sirdar Shams-ud-din rejected, and, on the 21st July, Ayub resumed his onward march. What followed is thus described in a letter from Kandahar which has been published officially :—"On arrival at Kadaneck, Ghulam Haidar heard that Ayub had broken up his camp on the night of the 21st, and marched towards Girishk. He immediately followed, but on reaching Girishk found no traces of the enemy. Conjecturing that Ayub must have followed the river with the view of coming lower down and taking the road by Bálákhána to the Argandeh Valley, Ghulam Haidar passed the river at Girishk, and made the best of his way to Khuskh-i-Nakud, which he reached on the 25th. Here he found that Ayub was encamped seven or eight miles distant, near the spot of cultivation marked on our maps, Karez-i-atta. On the afternoon of the 25th, Sirdar Gholam Muhiuddin Khán, who had before opened negotiations for Ayub, again wrote to the Amir's officers, declaring that the Sirdar's object was not to

attack the Amīr's troops, but to lead his army along the Argandeh and Dori rivers towards Pishin, to drive out the English. The object of this manœuvre was merely to gain time, and get together recruits, in which last desideratum there had hitherto been a wholly unexpected want of success amongst the Zamindawāri and Pushtirud tribesmen, who it was confidently predicted would join Ayub *en masse*. Only about five hundred half-armed men on foot and two to three hundred horse, including some from Kandahār, had actually joined him, while the Alizai Chiefs and their followers, some five hundred in number, were all ranged on the Amīr's side. Early the next morning, the 26th, the Amīr's officers marched to attack Ayub. They found him posted on a rising ground to the right of the road to Kandahār, near a watercourse called Karez-i-asuda. His baggage had been massed in some safe place in or about the river bed, and was invisible. The forces on each side were as follows:—On the Amīr's four regiments of infantry, of 600 men each, one regiment of 350 men, 1,200 Khassadars, 2 regiments of regular cavalry, 800 sabres, 500 Zamindawār and Pushtirud sawārs, 1,000 Kandahāri sawārs, and 200 Tokhi Ghilzai sawārs, making a total of 6,450 men, who were supported by 18 guns. Some horsemen of the Barakzais among the Kandahāris had deserted after Ayub crossed the river and returned to their homes. They are estimated to have numbered about 200. Ayub's army was composed of two Kābull and Kandahāri regiments, 360 men each, three Herati regiments, 360 each, tribal infantry, say—500 men, 1,400 Herati sawārs, who came with Ayub, 200 regular cavalry, the remains of the advanced-guard with Hashim and Muhammed Hasan Khān numbering about 600 sawārs, and about 300 Kandahāri sawārs, making a total of 4,800 men.

Ayub had, besides, 13 or 15 guns. The infantry of his force appears to have been commanded by Hafizulla Khān, and its general direction to have been under the control of the Sipah Salar, Hasan Ali Khān, who had lately joined Ayub from Persia. His disposition appears to have been made with considerable skill. The baggage was disposed as mentioned above; the infantry was drawn up in line, facing north, with the guns in front. The cavalry was massed on its left flank. The obvious course for the Amīr's general to have pursued would have been to have kept along the main road to Kandahār, thus turning Ayub's right, and placing himself between him and the city. This would have forced Ayub to change front, or abandon his defensive attitude, and commence the action. Instead of this, Ghulam Haidar advanced to attack at once, without making any attempt at placing his troops in any suitable formation. Four regiments of infantry,

with the guns, seem to have been in front. The baggage, guarded by the fifth and weakest regiment, was behind them, while the rear was brought up by the horse. The battle began by six guns on the Amir's side opening fire at long range. This was not responded to, and one regiment, supported by a second, advanced to attack the right of Ayub's infantry. His guns then opened fire, but without results. The Kábulis then advanced boldly, and drove back the first regiment that opposed them on to the second, which in its turn was giving way, when two regiments in reserve were brought up and repulsed the Kábulis, who were unsupported. They fell back on their guns, followed by Ayub's infantry. No attempt was made to turn the two regiments in reserve with 12 guns to the support of their comrades, but a regiment of the Amir's regular cavalry charged into the enemy's infantry and checked it for a time, but, being unsupported, had to retreat. In the meantime a cavalry action had been going on in the right rear. Seeing the infantry engaged, the Herati horsemen, following their usual tactics, made a wide circuit to their left, got round the Amir's cavalry, and attempted to fall upon the baggage. The Amir's horse intercepted them in time, but were getting the worst of it, when the infantry gave way on the left and precipitated the general catastrophe. Ghulam Haidar made no attempt to rally his troops, but rode off with what remained of the regular cavalry and the treasure, of which there was 4,50,000 Kandahári rupees among the baggage. He was pursued at once by the whole Herati horse, who saw their booty escaping them, and abandoned it without attempting to fight. Of the Kandahári horse some surrendered or went over to Ayub, some made the best of their way to Kandahár. The Zemindawár and Pushtirud sawárs are believed to have gone westwards to their homes. The rearmost of the four Kábuli regiments, which had not fired a shot, surrendered and offered its services to Ayub, but was immediately disarmed. The rest broke and dispersed. No attempt was made to carry off the guns.

The news of the battle was brought to Kandahár the same afternoon by two Kabuli horsemen, and was soon generally known. No disturbance took place. Shamsuddin Khán closed the gates and told off guards and officers to watch them, and declared his intention to stand a siege until relieved from Quetta or Kábul. Nothing more was heard from Kandahár till the morning of the 31st July. On that day a caravan of merchants arrived at Chaman, having left Kandahár on the 28th. They stated that on the morning of that day Sirdárs Muhammed Hassim and Shamsuddin Khán, with Kazi Saaduddin and the rest of the Kábul officials, went off towards Kábul, taking the treasure with them. On their departure

Sirdár Muhammed Hassan Khán, who had been on bad terms with them, left his house and made proclamation by beat of drum, warning all people to keep quiet. A couple of hours afterwards Sirdar Muhammed Hassim Khán, son of Sharif Khán, arrived, with the Sartip's son and sixty to seventy horsemen, and took peaceable possession of the city on behalf of Ayub."

Other accounts of the battle point still more clearly to disaffection and treachery as the chief causes of the disaster. Besides the Khanabad regiment, the Kandahar cavalry and Ghilzai levies are said to have gone over to Ayub before the complete discomfiture of Ghulam Haidar's force. Ayub's army is reported to have captured a considerable amount of treasure, but according to some accounts the treasure chests of both sides were plundered by the troops. After the battle, Ghulam Haidar made the best of his way to Khelat-i-Ghilzai, where a small force of cavalry and infantry, still remained faithful to the Amir.

The immediate effect of these events on public opinion, both in India and at home, was not only to destroy all faith in the stability of the Amir's power, but to create a wide-spread conviction that his overthrow was imminent. The general expectation was that Ayub would follow up his victory by an immediate advance on Kabul, and that no serious opposition would be offered him. But, whether owing to natural dilatoriness and want of dash, or to the weakness or untrustworthiness of the forces on which he had to depend, Ayub has completely disappointed this expectation. Soon after the battle one of his Kabuli regiments deserted him in a body, and others were disarmed and dismissed, while it is stated that the Kandahari troops who had accompanied him from Herat, refused to move, and that he was badly in want of both money and arms. At all events, beyond pushing forward a detachment towards Khelat-i-Ghilzai, he has shown no disposition to advance from Kandahar, or to assume the offensive. In the meantime his popularity appears to have been steadily declining, and with the view, it is supposed, of providing against the contingency of a retreat, he is reported to have been gradually sending away arms, tents, stores, and money to Herat. He is further said to have issued a fresh proclamation, declaring that his object was to expel the English from Peshin, and that he had no intention of attacking the Amir, and to have forwarded to the latter overtures for peace.

The Amir, on his side, has been making vigorous effort to retrieve the late disaster. On receiving news of the battle, he took immediate steps to re-inforce Khelat-i-Ghilzai, and eventually proceeded to that place himself to take the command of his troops in person.

It is a difficult matter to arrive at the exact dates or other details of current events in Afghanistan; but, from the information to hand, it appears that General Ghulam Haidar Khan, with a brigade of infantry and cavalry, was despatched to Khelat-i-Ghilzai at the beginning of August, Sirdar Muhammad Aziz, with another brigade of the same strength following a few days later. These troops would seem to have covered their ground with a rapidity which throws General Roberts' famous march into the shade, for the force under Muhammad Aziz is said to have reached Khelat-i-Ghilzai on the 18th.

The Amir himself arrived at the same place, with further reinforcements, on the 1st instant, and, according to the latest accounts commenced his march towards Kandahar on the 4th, reached Robat on the 8th, and was encamped in front of Ayub's army, before Kandahar, on the 11th, when an engagement was imminent. His total force is said to consist of seven regiments of infantry and five of cavalry, with fifteen guns.

Before leaving Kabul he caused the arrest of a large number of the leading men of the opposite party, including the notorious Muhammad Ján, and convened a Durbar at which he explained the grounds of his action, and declared his intention of keeping them in confinement till the close of existing complications. At the same time he is reported to have sent away his own family, together with an immense amount of baggage to Afghan-Turkistan.

The attitude of the Government of India, throughout the crisis, has been one of watchful neutrality. Not only is it determined to take no active part in the struggle, unless attacked, but it has no intention of granting the Amir any further assistance either in money or arms. This is the only policy which could prudently be adopted under existing circumstances, or, would be consistent with the action of the Government in abandoning Kandahar.

At the same time, there can be little doubt that it was the abandonment of Kandahar that precipitated the present conflict.

That the struggle would have occurred sooner or later, unless we had permanently occupied Kandahar, and perhaps even in spite of our occupying it, may be granted. But by postponing the evacuation it might, in all probability, have been staved off till the Amir had had time to consolidate his power.

Those who oppose the policy of the Government will naturally argue that, if it was worth our while to assist Abdul Rahman with arms, ammunition, and large sums of money, it was also worth our while to defer the evacuation in order to prevent his being prematurely attacked. To this argument it may possibly be replied that, though important enough to justify a limited expenditure, the preservation of Abdul Rahman's power

was not so important as to warrant our incurring the indefinite risk of being drawn into a fresh Afghan war, and that the prolonged occupation of Kandahar would have exposed us to that risk.

In any case, however, it is difficult to account for the surrender to Abdul Rahman, of the elaborate system of fortifications constructed by us at Kabul, except on the supposition that the Government seriously underrated the danger of his being dispossessed.

That, Kandahar having once been evacuated, non-interference is our proper policy is admitted by all parties. As to the time chosen for that movement, we are disposed to think that, if it was to take place at all, the sooner it took place the better. If late events have proved anything, they have proved that there is no practicable, at any rate no tolerable, alternative between permanent annexation and non-interference in Afghanistan. The mistake, if there was any, was in not annexing Kandahar right out.

The new Government Four per cent. loan was issued on the 25th July at an average price of Rs. 104-12, an extraordinary rate in the light of past operations of a similar kind, and probably an unjustifiably high one, prices having been raised above their natural level by the operations of speculators in time bargains. Scarcely had the result of the loan been announced than paper underwent a rapid and heavy fall, the price of four per cents. going down to Rs. 99-6 in a few days, and the market has since remained more or less depressed, though prices have recovered to the extent of about one per cent.

Among other subjects of domestic interest that have occupied public attention during the past three months, the extension of railway communications with Eastern Bengal and Assam and the Assam Labour Bill hold a conspicuous place.

Major Baring, it will be remembered, in the course of his Budget Statement, announced the conclusion of an arrangement with the Rothschilds for the construction of a railway from a point on the Eastern Bengal Railway line to Jessore and Khulna, an important mart in the Sunderbuns. The details of this arrangement have since been published. From these it appears that the primary undertaking consists of a line from the neighbourhood of Dum Dum to Khulna, *via* Baraset, Bongong and Jessore, with a branch from Bongong to Ranaghat. The following are the terms of the agreement as regards this line:—

1.—The direction and location of the line, as well as the extent and situation of the Calcutta terminus, and of the stations and station-yards, to be subject to the approval of Government. The general character of the structures, permanent way, and rolling stock to be in conformity with the established standards of the Indian 5 feet 6 inch gauge.

II.—Subject to the approval provided for in the preceding

paragraph, the Government will obtain and supply, without cost to the Company, the land required for the original construction of the railway and the works appertaining thereto, and will grant a lease of the same to the Company, free of rent, for 99 years.

III.—The Company to undertake to raise the capital in due time. A deposit of 10 per cent. to be paid as a first instalment into the Bank of England to the account of the Secretary of State, and further instalments of the capital to be paid in like manner as funds may be needed for the purposes of the Company.

The sums thus deposited to be withdrawn from time to time by the Company, as required by them for expenditure on their undertaking.

IV.—The Secretary of State for India will pay to the Company in London, half-yearly, interest at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum on the capital of the Company deposited with him, until the same shall be withdrawn for the purposes of the Company. Furthermore, until the opening of the "primary" undertakings for traffic throughout, or until the 30th June 1886, whichever event shall first occur, the Secretary of State will advance to the Company half-yearly in London such sum as, added to the net earnings of the Company in such half-year, shall be equal to the half-yearly interest at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum on the capital actually withdrawn for expenditure.

V.—All sums thus advanced to the Company by the Secretary of State shall be repaid in London, with simple interest thereon, at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum, by the appropriation of half the net earnings of the undertaking in excess of 5 per cent. on the capital for the time being issued and paid up, until all such advances, with accrued interest, shall have been paid off.

VI.—The Secretary of State to have power to purchase the undertaking of the Company and its equipment at the end of 30 years, or fifty years from the 1st January 1882, by the payment of a sum of 125% for every 100% of stock on giving one year's notice of his intention to do so.

VII.—At the end of 99 years, the works and buildings of the railway, together with the permanent way and structures fixed to the soil, shall become the property of the Secretary of State, who shall then pay the Company the value of the rolling stock and all the moveable property pertaining to the undertaking.

VIII.—The Government, if so desired by the Company, will endeavour to obtain for them on reasonable conditions, running powers for their engines, or goods, or passengers' vehicles over such portions of the Eastern Bengal Railway and the Calcutta Municipal and Port Commissioners' Railways as, in the opinion of the Government, may be necessary to ensure to the Company

convenient access to a suitable terminal station at Calcutta, and to the warehouses and wharves on the Hooghly, or may, in the opinion of the Government, be otherwise expedient.

IX.—The rates and fares to be charged to be within maxima to be fixed by the Government, such maxima not to be lower than those in force on the Eastern Bengal Railway.

X.—In case of failure to work the line (by running at least one train each way per day) the Government to have power to step in and take possession, on terms to be specified in the contract.

XI.—The arrangements for the mail services, troops, &c., to be the same as on the Guaranteed Railways.

XII.—The arrangements for maintaining a telegraph on the Company's railway and the police force shall be such as are provided in the contract with the East Indian Railway Company, dated 22nd December 1879.

XIII.—The Company to be subject to the provisions of the Indian Railway Act of 1879, and to all other Acts of the Indian Legislature in force for the time being in the province of Bengal.

XIV.—The accounts to be kept by the Company, and the returns of traffic shall be in the forms adopted for the Indian Railways worked under the supervision of the Government, and shall be rendered at the cost of the Company, and at the times prescribed by the Government.

XV.—Until all advances made by Government have been repaid by the Company, the accounts of the Company shall be subject to audit by an officer to be appointed by Government, and shall not be closed or accepted until they have been so audited.

For the purpose of carrying out this arrangement, the concessionaires undertook to form a company in London, with a capital of £1,000,000 and debenture powers to the extent of £250,000, and it is further stipulated between the parties that this company shall have power to extend their operations so as to include any one or more of the following objects:—

A.—The acquisition or hire and running of steamers, ferry boats, or other vessels in traffic connexion with the Company's lines.

B.—The construction, &c., and working of railways within the tract of country lying between the Eastern Bengal Railway on the west and north, and the river Ganges on the east.

C.—The construction, &c., and working of railways east of the Ganges and Megna in traffic connexion with the primary undertaking by river steamers, including railway communication with Dakka and Mymensing; with power also to acquire and work any mines of coal in this section.

D.—The extension of the primary undertaking from some suitable point thereof across the Eastern Bengal line and on to Murshidabad and the Ganges.

This power is accompanied by a proviso that, as regards the operations described in clauses B, C and D, it is to be understood that, in the event of the Government desiring to construct railways coming within the terms of those clauses, or receiving any offer from third parties to construct them, the Company to be formed by the promoters shall have a preferential right to the construction of all such lines of railway, subject to their acceptance within six months of the offer, on terms to be named by Government, to carry out any such line. It is also to be understood that this preferential right shall cease from the 1st January 1890.

As regards clause C, the Government of India having decided to construct the line from Dacca to Mymensing, with a branch to Aircha opposite Goalundo, as a State line, the Company have since been called on to signify at once whether they intend to avail themselves of their option.

In addition to the system of lines indicated above, it is in contemplation to connect Bengal with the Valley of Assam, by a railway the route of which has not yet been chosen, but will be decided upon after a survey of the country, to be carried out in the coming cold season; and from a speech of Major Baring in Council, it appears that the Central Bengal Railway Company will be invited to undertake this line also.

The Bill to amend the Labour Districts Emigration Act, entitled the Inland Emigration Bill, was introduced into the Legislative Council and referred to a select Committee on the 7th instant.

The Bill is based, in the main, on the draft Bill of the late Commission, but differs from it in some important particulars. The principal points in which the Commission found the existing law defective were that it did not afford sufficient encouragement to free emigration; that it imposed unnecessary restrictions on sirdari recruiting; that it failed to provide for the enforcement of contracts made otherwise than under its provisions; that it did not afford efficient remedies to employers against unlawful absence, idleness, or desertion.

The changes proposed in connexion with these points are thus described in the Statement of Objects and Reasons.

“With regard to the first of these points, no labour-contracts can be entered into under the existing law (Bengal Act VII of 1873), after the emigrant has arrived in a labour-district; and further under section 7 of the same Act, no contract to labour in a labour-district for more than one year is binding upon an emigrant, unless it is made and executed according to the provisions of the Act.

To remove these restrictions the Bill permits emigrants to make labour-contracts under its provisions after their arrival in a labour-district, and by omitting any provision of the nature of section 7 of Bengal Act VII of 1873 enables employers to make with any persons, whether within or without the labour-districts, any labour-contracts which the ordinary law will recognize and enforce.

As to the second point, under the present law, a garden-sardár is compelled to present himself at the Court of the Magistrate of the District where he proposes to engage labourers, that he may get his certificate countersigned; his certificate is only allowed to run for six months; he is not allowed to travel with another garden-sardár if the total number of their united bands of emigrants exceeds twenty; whilst if he recruits more than twenty emigrants himself, he must take them to a contractor's depôt. Such restrictions, besides unnecessarily impeding the garden-sardár in his operations, bring him into dangerous connection with contractors and recruiters, who not unfrequently tempt him to make over to them for a consideration labourers recruited at his employer's expense. The Bill severs all connection between garden-sardárs' and contractors' depôts; and, though providing, in the employer's interest, for the effective control of garden-sardárs when on recruiting duty, removes the restrictions above mentioned, and gives the widest scope to the working of the sardári system.

With respect to the third point, labour-contracts cannot be made under Bengal Act VII of 1873 in a labour-district. Consequently labour-contracts entered into in such districts must be made under the ordinary law. Though Act XIII of 1859 has in some districts been applied to these locally made labour-contracts, its provisions were obviously never intended to meet such cases. As employers may incur serious loss in the event of their labourers refusing to fulfil their contracts, it is clear that they are insufficiently protected under the present law in respect of locally made labour-contracts. Nothing short of a penal labour law is sufficient for their protection. At the same time it appears only just that, if a labourer is to be subjected to a penal labour law, he should obtain also the protection of law in respect of his general relations with his employer. Under these circumstances it seems preferable, instead of providing that locally made contracts may be enforced under the Act, to remove the restrictions which at present exist against labour-contracts under the Act being made in labour-districts, and this the Bill accordingly does.

As to the fourth point, under the existing law the penalty prescribed for the unlawful absence of the labourer from his work

can only be enforced by complaint before a Magistrate. Such a provision is obviously very inconvenient to employers, who cannot spare time to make a journey to Court every time one of their labourers is unlawfully absent from his work. The Bill therefore provides for a system of monthly lists of defaulters to be submitted by the employer to the inspector, who will, on his next visit to the garden, enquire into the case of each defaulter mentioned in such list, and, if satisfied that the labourer is guilty of the offence charged, punish him by entering such days of absence on his contract, and adding them to the term thereof, unless the labourer consents to forfeit to his employer the sum of four annas for each such day of absence. Prolonged and repeated absence may, however, be still punished by a Magistrate if the employer chooses to complain."

"The Government of India," continues the Statement, "have resolved to make no change in the provisions of the existing law as to desertion, and the proposals of the Commission with regard to these provisions have not therefore been adopted in the Bill.

It must also be noticed that the Bill extends the term for which labourer may contract to labour. Under the present law the term is limited to three years from the date of the arrival of the labourer on his employer's estate. It is now proposed to extend it to five years from the date of the execution of the contract. This extension will enable the employer to recoup himself for his preliminary outlay incurred in importing the labourer and maintaining him while he learns his work and becomes acclimatized. At the same time provision has been made in the interest of the labourer that, for the last two years of the term, he shall receive an increase of one rupee per mensem to his wages. At the end of three years he is presumably better acquainted with his work, more valuable to his employer, and therefore entitled to a higher rate of wages.

The Statement then proceeds to notice certain other points in which the suggestions of the Commission have been rejected, or modified. Under the draft Bill, "sections 24 and 63, labourers engaged in districts not under the administration of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal need not, when recruited by garden-sardars, and cannot, when recruited by recruiters, be registered until they are brought within a district of the Lower Provinces. The Government of India is of opinion that it is necessary for the purpose of protecting the labourer and preventing fraudulent practice on the part of the garden-sardar or recruiter, that all labourers in whose case the registration of the engagement before proceeding to the labour-districts is imperative, should be registered in

the districts in which they are engaged. The provisions of the draft have accordingly been modified so as to carry out these views.

Again, the draft of the Commission permitted the transport to the labour-districts of labourers, whether engaged by garden-sardárs or recruiters, by any route. As it is known that on certain routes great mortality has occurred, it seems advisable that power should be taken to enable the Local Government to prescribe the routes by which only labourers may travel to the labour-districts. A power of this nature has therefore been inserted in the Bill.

Lastly, under the draft of the Commission, it is not necessary that contracts of locally engaged labourers should always be registered before a Magistrate or other officer. The Government of India is, however, of opinion that, unless such registration is made compulsory in all cases, there is not sufficient security that the nature of engagement shall be fully understood by the labourer. The provisions of the draft have therefore been so altered in the Bill, that it will be necessary to have all contracts of locally engaged labourers executed before and registered by an Inspector of labourers or Magistrate.

In the case of certain offences the Commission proposed that a penalty of rigorous imprisonment should be inflicted. It is considered that the Magistrates should be allowed a discretion as to the infliction of rigorous or simple imprisonment, and the Bill therefore substitutes the expression 'imprisonment,' which means imprisonment either simple or rigorous, in the places where, in the draft prepared by the Commission the expression, 'rigorous imprisonment' is used."

The second and last of these modifications strike us as being improvements on the draft Bill; but the first and third do not appear to be justified by the circumstances, and are likely to prove sources of serious inconvenience to all concerned.

The vacant Governorship of Madras has been conferred on Mr. Grant Duff, who is expected to leave England for the purpose of taking up his appointment early in October.

The 14th September 1881.



CRITICAL NOTICES.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

Hindu Philosophy. The Sankhya Karika of Iswara Krishna : An Exposition of the System of Kapila, with an Appendix on the Nyaya and Vaiseshika Systems. By John Davies, M. A. (Cantab), Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, London : Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill, 1881.

MOST students of the Vedanta will probably feel inclined to demur to the view implied in Mr. Davies' title, and explicitly stated by him in his preface, that almost the whole of Hindu philosophy proper is comprised in the Sankhya system of Kapila. That that system occupies a most important position in Hindu philosophy, may be admitted, but the Vedantic system, in spite of its appeal to authority, is none the less entitled to rank with it. The two are in fact mutually antagonistic; the Sankhya maintaining that matter is real and eternal, the Vedanta that it is illusory and evanescent; the Sankhya that soul exists separately from matter and is many, the Vedanta that soul is the only real existence and is one, while, again, though both are pessimistic and both regard deliverance from evil as the great end of right effort, the Sankhya sees that deliverance in the liberation of the soul from all connexion with matter, the Vedanta in its emancipation from the illusion of individual existence by re-integration in the one all-pervading soul of which it is a portion. Of the several expositions of the Sankhya philosophy, that by Iswara Krishna is believed to be the oldest and most trustworthy. It has been translated by Colebrooke, Lassen, and others, and the present work consists of an independent translation by Mr. Davies with a very copious and learned commentary, to which is added a supplementary notice of the Nyaya and Vaiseshika systems of logic and physics.

For a complete view of the Sankhya philosophy, we must refer the reader to the work itself, which deals with the subject exhaustively and critically, and is a most valuable contribution to the history of human thought.

Indian Poetry: Containing a new Edition of "The Indian Song of Songs," from the Sanskrit of the Gîta Govinda of Jayadeva; two Books from "The Iliad of India" (Mahàbbhà-rata); "Proverbial Wisdom," from the Shlokas of the Hitopadesa, and other Oriental Poems. By Edwin Arnold, M.A., London. Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill, 1881.

THE reputation which Mr. Arnold had already earned by his poetical narrative of the life of Buddha, is more than sustained by the charming version he has here given us of the "Song of Songs." The strong lyrical element that pervades this most passionate of poems finds in him at once a sympathetic and a faithful interpreter. With the deeper spiritual meaning which Jayadeva himself bids us see in the story of Krishna's error and repentance, the general reader will probably not trouble himself much. Read literally, it is one of the most perfect of idylls, appealing in almost every line to every human heart, and, in spite of its voluptuousness, pregnant with moral wisdom. Though all impressionable minds must derive pleasure from the "Song of Songs," we doubt whether an intimate acquaintance, not only with Indian modes of thought, but with Indian rural life and its surroundings, is not essential to a full appreciation of it:—

"And all as if—far wandered
The traveller should hear
The bird of home, the Koil,
With nest-notes rich and clear;
And there should come one moment
A blessed, fleeting dream
Of the bees among the mangoes
Beside his native stream;
So flash those sudden yearnings,
That sense of a dearer thing,
The love and lack of Radha,
Upon his soul in Spring."

Even such a passage as the above, exquisitely simple as it is in both language and sentiment, must lose something of its force to those who have neither heard the cuckoo of the Indian plains nor seen a mango grove; and "the soft-awakening spring time," "the sunny spring-time," "the languorous spring-time," when "it's hard to live alone," will be almost meaningless to those who have not felt the influence of the first warm breeze of the Indian spring, a season which affects the feelings not only differently, but in some respects in an opposite way to the first spring-day in a Northern climate. The "Song of Songs" abounds with testimony to that intimate sympathy with Nature in its softer and homelier aspects which, little as most Englishmen may

suspect it, is a marked characteristic of the Hindu mind, and which is yet quite compatible with a lack of the sense of the "picturesque" in the modern sense, or even of an eye for extended landscape.

There is one defect in Mr. Arnold's book. From first to last it contains scarcely a single note, though much of the imagery in the text must be absolutely meaningless to the uninitiated.

The most important of the remaining translations in the volume is that of the seventeenth and eighteenth books of the Mahābhārata, "The Book of the Great Journey," and the "Book of the Entry into Heaven," the former containing one of the noblest episodes in the great epic, the refusal of Yudhisthira to enter Paradise, except on the condition that his faithful dog is allowed to accompany him. This translation is prefaced by a short account of the Mahābhārata, and a summary of the plot of the poem.

The following passage, containing the colloquy between Yudhisthira and Indra in connexion with the episode just referred to, will serve to convey an idea of the manner in which the translator has done his work :—

"But the king answered : 'O thou Wisest One,
Who know'st what was, and is, and is to be,
Still one more grace ! This hound hath ate with me,
Followed me, loved me : must I leave him now ?'

"'Monarch,' spake Indra, 'thou art now as We,—
Deathless, divine ; thou art become a god ;
Glory and power and gifts celestial,
And all the joys of heaven are thine for aye :
What hath a beast with these ? Leave here thy hound.'

"Yet Yudhisthira answered : 'O Most High,
O Thousand-eyed and Wisest ! can it be
That one exalted should seem pitiless ?
Nay, let me lose such glory : for its sake
I would not leave one living thing I loved.'

"Then sternly Indra spake : 'He is unclean,
And into Swarga such shall enter not.
The Krodhavasha's hand destroys the fruits
Of sacrifice, if dogs defile the fire.
Bethink thee, Dharmaraj, quit now this beast !
That which is seemly is not hard of heart.'

"Still he replied : 'Tis written that to spurn
A suppliant equals in offence to slay
A twice-born ; wherefore, not for Swarga's bliss
Quit I, Mahendra, this poor clinging dog,—
So without any hope or friend save me,
So wistful, fawning for my faithfulness,
So agonised to die, unless I help,
Who among men was call'd steadfast and just.'

"Quoth Indra: 'Nay! the altar-flame is foul
Where a dog passeth; angry angels sweep
The ascending smoke aside, and all the fruits
Of offering, and the merit of the prayer
Of him whom a hound toucheth. Leave it here!
He that will enter heaven must enter pure.
Why didst thou quit thy brethren on the way,
And Krishna, and the dear-loved Draupadi,
Attaining, firm and glorious, to this Mount
Through perfect deeds, to linger for a brute?
Hath Yudhishtira vanquished self, to melt
With one poor passion at the Door of bliss?
Stay'st thou for this, who didst not stay for them,—
Draupadi, Bhîma?'

"But the king yet spake:
'Tis known that none can hurt or help the dead.
They, the delightful ones, who sank and died,
Following my footsteps, could not live again,
Though I had turned,—therefore I did not turn;
But could help profit, I had turned to help.
There be four sins, O Sakra, grievous sins:
The first is making suppliants despair,
The second is to slay a nursing wife,
The third is spoiling Brahmans' goods by force,
The fourth is injuring an ancient friend.
These four I deem but equal to one sin,
If one, in coming forth from woe to weal,
Abandon any meanest comrade then.'
"Straight as he spake, brightly great Indra smiled;
Vanished the hound, and in its stead stood there
The Lord of Death and Justice, Dharma's self!"

Mani-Mâlâ, or a Treatise on Gems. By Sourindro Mohun Tagore, Mus. Doc., Knight-Commander of the Order of Leopold of Belgium; Knight Commander of the 1st Class of the Order of Albert of Saxony; Chevalier of the Imperial Order of Medjidie of Turkey, etc., etc., Calcutta: Printed by I. C. Bose and Co., Stanhope Press, 249, Bowbazar Street, and published by the Author, 1879.

THE greater part of this elaborate work being written in four languages, Sanskrit, Hindi, Bengali and English, we might perhaps have included it under the head of Vernacular Literature; but a considerable section of it being given in English only, it may be appropriately noticed in this place.

The learned author has compiled with great labour and research a very copious account of the history, properties, uses, and commercial value of the precious stones and minor gems, not only according to European authorities, but as laid down in the Puranas, and other sacred works of the Hindus, and by Arabic

and Persian writers, together with briefer notices of the views held regarding them by the modern Hindusthani jewellers, and in Nepal, Burmah and Siam, China and Japan, Afghanistan, Egypt, America, Polynesia, Australia, Malacca and Ceylon. To these he has appended analyses of the precious stones, and, among much other curious information, a very complete bibliography of the subject. Much of this information is rather curious than practical, dealing, as it does, with the occult properties of gems, but it will be new to most English readers, though similar superstitions regarding some precious stones still survive in the minds of the ignorant in Europe. It may safely be said that so much information from such various quarters on this fascinating subject has never been brought together before.

The Gulistan : or Rose Garden, of Shekh Mushihu 'd-din Sádí, of Shiráz. Translated for the first time into Prose and Verse, with an Introductory Preface, and a Life of the Author, from the Atish Kadah. By Edward B. Eastwick, C. B., M. A., F. R. S., M. R. A. S., etc., Second Edition. London, Trübner & Co., Ludgute Hill, 1880.

THE first edition of Mr. Eastwick's translation of the Gulistan of Sádí was an expensive work ; the second is published, as one of Trübner's Oriental Series, at a price which places it within the reach of most students. Of the translation itself, at this date, there is little necessity to speak. Suffice it to say that, in the thirty years that have elapsed since it was first published, it has not been superseded. The prose portion, indeed, could hardly be improved upon, and though the verse might be rendered more attractive to the general reader, it would only be by a sacrifice of literalness. Mr. Eastwick has, however, been remarkably successful, even here, in combining correct and smooth versification and a natural diction with great truth to the original.

Anglo-Indians and Eurasians. By S. F. Heron, Simla : Printed by Churn Dass at the Station Press, 1881.

THIS is a well-intentioned pamphlet on a question which the author evidently has at heart ; but it contains nothing true that has not been often and better said before, while the English in which it is written is so defective as to be sometimes barely intelligible. Its vices of style are, however, surpassed by its vices of taste, and by a lamentable want of the very

forbearance and charity for which the writer pleads on behalf of Eurasians. As a justification of the tendency of this class to withdraw themselves from contact with the natives of the country, he tells us that "however great a *parvenu* or *curmudgeon* a man may be, in the estimation of natives, he will never lose character or respect, so long as he is enabled by either of these admittedly desirable possessions to exercise some power, or make a display of some kind."

Advocacy of this kind can only do harm to the cause it is intended to advance; and the same may be said of the following wonderful passage, put forward in support of the writer's opinion that, unless treated with more consideration, the Eurasians are certain, by and by, to be a trouble and a standing menace to the country:—

"It is just possible that a statement of this kind may be considered *quixotic*, and for such of my readers who (*sic*) are of that opinion, I may mention that I have a vivid recollection of reading in one of the histories of the Sepoy revolt, that white men were found on the side of the rebels. The author expressed much surprise and indignation at such a spectacle, observing that he would have thought that the sympathies of these men would have been with the race to which they belonged, or from whom they descended. But, for aught we know, the treatment they received may have been of an inconsiderate and cruel character, enough to obliterate that very feeling of sympathy, which it is the duty of Government to suffer to remain green in the hearts of its British-born subjects. Although the case of American independence may not be applicable to India, it should not be forgotten that there are men in this country with British pluck and enterprise who, in a combination with natives, could do incalculable mischief. What may be thought *Utopian* now may, in after years, wear a very different complexion."

As a specimen of the hopelessly confused character of the writer's style and of his eccentric misuse of words, the following is about as good a passage as we could select:—

Eurasians, as the word implies, are of mixed descent from natives of Europe and Asia, and are of various sorts. The word, however, is of wide significance, as in it is imported, in addition to Asia, the idea not only of the United Kingdom, but of Germany, France, Spain, and other European nationalities. Among persons with no Continental blood, the word is understood to be equivocal, and is not popular. East Indian, again, may very properly be applied exclusively to natives. Anglo-Indian is the appellation preferred, as being most distinctive in tracing the races of both the British islands and India. But this word is by common consent applied to persons of pure British descent, by whom a freedom with it might possibly be resented. To ethnographers, therefore, it would appear to be an interesting occupation to search after, and arrive at, such a word to represent

the mixed races of this country as would be both *intelligent* and acceptable. But the subject is much too complicated, and *diffuse* for even the most thoughtful labour to be attended with success. However, some Eurasians have a *monopoly* of English blood in their veins, and these in colour are very like Englishmen; others, again, are not one remove from natives, for, with marriages and inter-marriages with Native Christian and Portuguese families, the Asiatic blood has been made to predominate, and they have very little, if any at all, of the European left in them.

The quality of his logic has already received incidental illustration. Here, however, is an exhibition of it which it would be difficult to surpass:—

I think it was Sir Charles Dilke in his book descriptive of his tour through India, who was made so say, that "Eurasians possess the vices of both races, and the virtues of neither." But *audi alteram partem*. If he had possessed the prescience to foresee the loathsome disclosures of a case like Bolton, Park, and Lord Clinton, it is not too much to say that he would have hesitated to publish such a libel.

One more quotation, and we have done:—

Not many years ago in the district of Agra there was a European child carried away by a she-wolf, and, strange to say, *instead of killing the child, it was taken away to its lair*, and brought up by the wolf with her cubs.

The Story of Philosophy. By Aston Leigh, London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill, 1881.

THIS is in its way an admirable little book. That is, having set before him the task of inditing a popular account of Greek philosophy and its professors, the author has succeeded not only in imparting to his work that attractiveness of manner that was essential to the accomplishment of his object, but in making it as full and exact as was compatible therewith.

No exegesis of a great philosophical system can be at once complete and intelligible to ordinary readers. To give such readers a distinct idea of the salient points of each system without being seriously misleading, is the most that the ablest expositor can hope to accomplish; and this Mr. Leigh may be fairly said to have done. The work is largely biographical, including in that term the delineation of not only the lives, but the surroundings, of the persons dealt with. It is upon this element of the story that the author has had mainly to depend for his hold on the attention of the majority of the class he is addressing; and to this fact we probably owe the lively and imaginative style that he has adopted. He has, in fact, availed himself to some extent of the license which belongs to fiction; though he has not gone further in this way than many professed biographers—M. Renan, for instance, in his life

of Christ. The following passage from the part of the work devoted to Socrates, will fairly illustrate what we mean :—

Before you rises a rocky hill ; white lines gird its rugged sides, one of which is so broken as to be almost a precipice. . . . That which at first sight looks like a glistening crown set lightly on the sombre mass, is a marble temple standing out in sharp relief against the clear blue sky. . . .

The dazzling sunshine upon the grey-green slopes around this hill makes you shade your watering eyes with your hand. Then you see that the white lines you took to be strata of chalk are buildings, seemingly built into the very rock itself ; that streets of these stony edifices lie in irregular lines about the plain ; that the groves of ashengrey olives lie close against marble temples ; that the tiny moving specks upon the white roads are not illusion, but real moving figures. . . .

As you walk onwards towards the city, you skirt the hill, and come upon its sloping and accessible side. Here the marble buildings abound, and you begin to distinguish colossal statues standing loftily upon their massive pedestals.

There is a certain bustle and activity. . . . Drays drawn by thin oxen bear huge masses of stone lumberingly along the hard white roads. Sheds and huts by the roadside are flanked by piles of stones, slabs and boulders. The sharp clink of the hammer, the chip, chip, of the busy chisel, is to be heard far and near. The very dust that the warm breezes—those same breaths of summer air which fanned your cheek and toyed with your hair as they brought you warm spicy odours—are playing with in the corners is powdered marble. The children are making houses with discarded glittering lumps . . . brown little barefoot creatures, their shaggy locks grey with dust. They cry out to each other in a monotonous but musical chant as they run here and there picking up their building-materials. Then you meet a dark, bearded man with a yoke on his shoulders, from which curiously shaped earthen pots are slung. He wears a loose, coarse garment, and is barefoot. . . . He is a honey-carrier from Mount Hymettus, whose blue summit you can see rising beyond that terraced hill. This dray coming heavily along is laden with the pure white stone from the Hymettus quarries. The girl who wears her loose robe with a certain grace, who supports her basket with one arm, while the other rests lightly on one of the shafts, is a flower-girl. She and the dark-browed, sullen-faced driver, who paces by the oxen, now and then exclaiming to them in a sing-song which seems all diphthongs and soft consonants, seem to be friends. At all events, she keeps up a monotonous chatter as they proceed. More building sheds, more busy masons. . . . Why all this building ?

You look at the landscape more closely, and see that many of the large edifices have been injured, and that some are almost ruins. The stone-masons and statuaries have enough to do, for proud Athens in the year 440 before Christ declined to be a city wrecked by her enemies ; and when disaster came to her, she renewed her plumage, and was a veritable phoenix until her very life-blood had been sucked out by her vampire foes.

This is Athens. . . . The many-pillared edifice crowning the rocky hill is the Parthenon, the temple of Venus ; the mound itself, which you rightly guess to be some 500 feet high, is the Acropolis. The pillared portico yonder is the entrance to the theatre. . . .

That quadrangle, where a number of little brown-limbed youths are throwing themselves about—some wrestling, others trying their strength by the bar or lifting weights—is a Palæstra or gymnasium for boys. . . . You can see robed figures standing about—they are the tutors, parents, and friends, watching the practice.

Those white dots surrounding the cypresses that flank the winding road yonder in even rows are tombs. The cemeteries proper lie outside the wall; but this is the road leading from the Dipylum Gate to the Academy, where it is a special honour to be buried, and where there are the graves of many heroes who fell fighting for their country. The white dots are their monuments.

Let your eye travel city wards along that road. You see a plot of ground separated from the olive groves and fields round about, planted with avenues of trees and intersected by shining little streams. . . . In its centre is a temple-like mansion. . . . It is the Academy, which you must visit in many succeeding pages, for there Plato passed the principal part of his teaching life.

The other side of the Acropolis are important buildings you will see in their turn. . . .

Now you must leave the main road, and turn into a narrow street of irregularly-built low houses. Some are little better than huts, seemingly built of lumps of rock piled one upon the other. In some ways these ancient Athenians were mere savages, while in others they were farther advanced than we Anglo-Saxons of to-day. While they wrought magnificent statues of carved ivory, coloured marbles, and gold, their actual physical wants were treated as we should treat a demand for superfluous luxuries. It was an afterthought to legislate for them, while it was possible to hide them under a veil of magnificent and luxurious misery.

These huts, with crooked doorways and unglazed apertures doing duty for windows, are not the holes and corners where indigent labourers hide themselves at night. They are respectable family dwellings.

There is one somewhat larger than the rest. Voices and the sound of the chisel are to be heard. A brawny, broad-shouldered youth, bared to the waist, is chipping away at a block of marble. As he stoops, you notice muscles twisting about his arms and against his shoulderblades like brown snakes. He does not stop working, though the young man in the purple robe, with gold embroidered border and tassels, is talking to him. This is Crito, a young man of property, who can afford to wear rings on his carefully-tended hands and to curl and perfume his hair and beard. His father and this young man's father, Sophroniscus, a sculptor who was scarcely successful, were friends. How can Crito, the "curled darling," affect the company of this rough young "stone-scraper," as he was afterwards sarcastically called by satirists? As he raises his round, massive head, you exclaim to yourself at his ugliness. His coarse, sunburnt face is broad and ill-moulded, his nose flat, with widespread nostrils, his eyes prominent, and looking out from under the shaggy eyebrows with a "bull-like" stolid stare—a stare which is always annoying when given by a human being, because it either means very much or nothing at all. In animals it expresses puzzled or unmeaning astonishment. In a fellow-creature it arises from utter stupidity, or is the dull surface of unfathomable mental depths.

In the case of the ugly young sculptor, it is the latter. For the chosen companion of the rich and elegant Crito is the son of Sophroniscus, the sculptor, and Philarete the midwife, and his name is Socrates.

He has been self-contained and puzzling since childhood. He accepted his father's choice of a profession placidly, and placidly he chipped away at the marble, as he worked away with his keen, strong mind the while at some problem he intended to solve. Traditions tell that he listened to and talked with Parmenides and Zeno. The probability is that he contrived to hear all and each of the clever men that spoke publicly at Athens.

Philosophy was then to the *blase* young men of Athens as a refreshing sea-breeze to a tropical traveller, as bread to a palate sickened of sweets. It revived their drooping minds, exhausted by debauchery. The young Socrates attracted and irritated simultaneously. He listened with respect to any one who chose to honour him with his conversation, seemed impressed by his opinions, and asked further questions. The first question exposed the weak points of the converser's statement, whatever it might be; the second overthrew the defence set up to protect the weak points; the remainder destroyed the arguments attempted, until the one speaking to Socrates had mentally "not a leg left to stand upon."

This is so well done, that the most captious critic would hesitate to complain that much of the detail depends for its definiteness on a constructive effort of the writer's imagination.

The work is throughout equally pleasant and instructive. We say instructive, for after all we can have no definite idea of ancient Athens, or of Socrates, without a more or less extensive use of the imagination, and the majority, even of well read persons, who might set about forming such a picture for themselves, would probably arrive at a much more erroneous result without Mr. Leigh's aid than with it.

With all the writer's reflections on the philosophic views he describes, we cannot agree, but this is the least important portion of a work which deserves to be widely read.

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Dui Bhagnî. (Upanyâs). By Dâmodar Mukhopâdhyâya. Printed by Gopâl Chandra De, 14, Duff Street, Calcutta.

THIS is a novel. Kamalini and Binodini are two sisters. The former is a young and beautiful widow who has conceived an improper attachment for Jogendra, her sister's husband. But Jogendra and Binodini are a faithful couple, and Kamalini therefore finds it necessary to create in their minds distrust for each other. This she does with the assistance of a female servant, and when Jogendra is at Calcutta, away from his wife, reading for a medical examination. Jogendra leaves off his studies and goes home to kill his wife. The intrigue is, however, laid bare by an honest family tutor; but the discovery comes too late. For Binodini has already taken poison, and when Jogendra rushes into her room in the ecstasy of restored faith, she has barely time to ask for his forgiveness, and to pray God to forgive those who have sought to injure her.

We are sorry to say we cannot congratulate Babu Dâmodar Mukherji upon the story he has produced. His hero is a young Bengali boy who is still reading at school. Now we do not at all approve of the practice, which seems growing among Bengali

authors, of representing schoolboys, or young men not much different from schoolboys, as heroes of love stories. Such heroes are a demoralising, if not a positively unsightly, phenomenon, and their influence may be after all very injurious in a country where infant marriage is the rule. In the second place, a schoolboy acting the part of a lover cannot possibly secure the respectful attention which the hope of deriving instruction would be calculated to excite. Babu Dámodar's hero is a schoolboy—the veritable theatrical Bengali schoolboy of our time—and he accordingly strikes us as being full of fire, fury, and the speech-making impulse, by no means as a very instructive person. It is true, he hates sensuality; but we nowhere find his animal nature worked upon, and the defeat of Kamalini does not therefore impress us as a great victory on the part of Jogendra. As to the wicked Kamalini, she is, indeed, foiled; but that is a moral for which the story of an ugly female intriguer was not needed towards the close of the nineteenth century.

The author's manner is of a piece with his matter. His subject is a schoolboy as a lover, wholly unnatural, and his manner of treating that subject is also unnatural. He is always straining after effect; he is hideously rhetorical; he is designedly sentimental and rhapsodical. He is a very bad imitator of Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterji. “হাসিতে হাসিতে, হুলিতে হুলিতে, চন্দ্রমা আকাশ সমুদ্রে ভাসিতে ভাসিতে—কে-জানে কোথায় যাইতেছে” and “সরস বসন্ত-বায়ু নাচিতে নাচিতে নাচাইতে নাচাইতে ছুটাছুটি করিতেছে” are oddities which Babu Bankim Chandra would be, we think, the first man to condemn.

Our verdict upon this work, though unfavorable, requires one word of explanation. In condemning Babu Dámodar's work we have considered only the highest excellence which might have been attained by him. There is, however, one word in his favor. He seems to know better than many other Bengali writers of fiction how a story may be told with effect, and he appears capable of expressing strong feelings. We have no doubt that he will do much better if he writes without endeavouring to reproduce a model. Imitation has never succeeded. Babu Dámodar should therefore write as he ought to write; and his writing would then be sure to command attention. He is really a promising author. Only let him not spoil himself by labouring to produce what only some body else can produce.

Mahátmá Rájá Rámmohan Ráyer Jibancharit. By Nagendra Náth Chattopádhyaýa. Printed by Bipin Bihári Ráya at the Ráya Press, 17, Bhabáni Charan Datta's Lane, and published at the Ráya Press Depository, 14, College Square, Calcutta, 1287, B. S.

THIS work is significant in many ways. As a laboriously-collected memoir of a great Bengali by a Bengali scholar, it means the growth of a historic and patriotic spirit which Indians did not formerly possess, and which, as it develops, is sure to give a new tone and appearance to Indian society and to produce something like a literary revolution in both India and Europe. As a biographical work, fully deserving of that name, it means the replacement of that unreal, imaginative and credulous type of mind which filled Bengali book-shelves so far down as the year 1860 with stories of talking birds, moving trees, magic cars, benevolent and malevolent spirits, and all that reason and the senses refuse to believe, by a real and practical type of mind which prefers the human to the superhuman, the natural to the supernatural, the useful to the ornamental, the real to the unreal, the demonstrable to the marvellous and the hypothetical. And the pessimists, both Indian and European, who will not believe that the Hindu will ever become a practical man, may well be invited to take note of this remarkable contrast between two periods of Bengali literature separated by an interval of less than a quarter of a century. But if they, or others, who without being pessimists are sincere inquirers, desire to obtain further proof of the practical capacity of the Bengali mind, the best thing they can do is to study this man, this greatest of Bengalis, Rammohan Roy. For Rammohan Roy, though born of Ignorance, Bigotry, Superstition, Credulity, and, in short, of every thing that is opposed to the Real and the Practical, represented in feeling, thought and action everything that is opposed to ignorance, bigotry, superstition, credulity, the unreal and the unsubstantial. Born of the very spirit of superstitious unreality. Rammohan Roy was full of the spirit of enlightened practicalism, It would indeed be difficult to find an instance of an individual, either in ancient or in modern times, who overcame the influences of his birth and social surroundings in anything like the manner and to the extent that this remarkable Bengali did. The story of Rammohan's life forms one of the most wonderful chapters in the history of man. For, whereas other great men have been great in virtue partly of the age in which they were born, or of the age which preceded them, Raja Rammohan Roy has been great wholly in spite and in defiance of the age in which he was born, and of the many, many ages of credulity, superstition, and human

negation which preceded it. And that story is well and effectively told. With a heart full of love and veneration for the great man, Babu Nagendra Náth Chatterji has laboured more than any preceding inquirer to build up a worthy memorial. The result is a biography which, though capable of enlargement (of which the author, by the way, has given us a kind assurance), is still decidedly the best work of its kind yet written in Bengali. The style of the work is hearty and eloquent.

Mahátmá Rájá Rámmohan Ráya sambandhiya kshudra kshudra galpa. By Nandamohan Chattopádhya. Printed and published by Bholánáth Chakrabarti at the Barát Press, 12, Patal-dángá Street, Mirzápur, Calcutta, 1287, B. S.

THIS is a collection of anecdotes relating to Raja Rammohan Roy by one of his own descendants, and as such it possesses great value and interest. The anecdotes have reference to the entire career of the great reformer from his birth to his death. Anecdotes, it need hardly be stated, illustrate a man better than anything else; and the anecdotes brought together by Babu Nandamohan do not possess less than their acknowledged value. And inasmuch as Babu Nandamohan has brought forth some anecdotes which we have not found mentioned by any other writer or investigator, his collection ought to be thankfully accepted as a substantial contribution to the literature (both English and Vernacular) already existing on the subject of the life and labours of Rammohan Roy. Babu Nandamohan has increased the interest of his work by weaving out of his anecdotes a short and simple narrative of the *mind* of his eminent great-grandfather. He has done his duty to himself and to the public; and by his manner of doing it, which is simple, unpretentious and profoundly respectful, he has proved himself a worthy descendant of the great Raja.

Udásin Satyasrabár Asám Bhraman. Printed by B. M. Ghosh at the Sádharan Brahma Samaj Press, 93, College Street, and published by the Ráya Press Depository, 14, College Square, Calcutta.

THIS is the first book of travels in Bengali. It is written by a Bengali gentleman who calls himself an *Udásin* or *religious mendicant*. The author has travelled thrice in Assam—travelled for the pleasure of travelling—and recorded in these pages an account of what he has seen and heard in that province. That account, we are glad to say, is in the highest degree valuable

and interesting. It embraces matters of interest of all kinds—domestic, social, religious, educational, historical, antiquarian, political, agricultural, commercial, ethnological, &c. The traveller has evidently *studied* Assam in all its aspects, and *studied* it as it had been, as it now is, as it may yet be. He is minute but not trivial; he is graphic but not sensational; he is circumstantial but not inaccurate or conjectural. He describes rivers, mountains, hills, plains, meadows, fields, roads, travellers' bungalows, temples, houses, men, women, children, birds, beasts, reptiles, towns, villages, schools, dispensaries, ruined temples, palaces and forts, tea gardens, coolies, everything, in fact, that is calculated to excite the reader's interest. His descriptions are thoroughly sober and practical, full of details carefully ascertained, and beautifully concise. His style and manner are manly and straightforward. His book is as attractive reading as a work of fiction. He is a lover of nature, a lover of his species, a lover of every good thing. He is an intelligent observer and an impartial thinker. Experience has evidently made him sober and sedate. Speaking of female morality in Assam, of which Bengalis have always entertained a very low opinion, he says:—

“Most people think badly of the women of Assam. I have travelled thrice in Assam, and all that I have learnt by this long experience is that the women of this province are comparatively independent, and marriage rules are not very strict among the lower classes. Consequently low-class women do now and then change husbands. The state of independence in which the women live prevents them from concealing their weaknesses, and the existence of the custom of divorce leads to the discovery of many cases of separation between husband and wife. There are many who for these reasons assail the character of Assamese women; but I cannot agree with them. I have travelled in many places, and what I have been able to learn concerning human nature is to the effect that it is nearly the same in all places. The only difference is, that some countries are not hidden by the veil which civilisation throws over some others. The women of this province are able-bodied, and braver, and more intelligent than the men.”

The author thus compares Bengalis with the people of Assam:—

“Many may think that the people of Assam are not so shrewd and intelligent as Bengalis; but I do not admit that. I have, after travelling in Assam, clearly understood that the respectable classes of Assamese are not at all inferior to Bengalis either in intelligence or in shrewdness. English education began in this province 40 years after it began in Bengal, and this accounts for the greater progress which Bengalis have been able to make. The educated youth of Assam are very fond of imitation; and

most of them imitate Englishmen in the matter of food and dress. The people of this province live longer and are healthier than Bengalis; but the use of opium has rendered the low-class people very indolent."

But it would serve no useful purpose to place before the reader a few brief extracts from a work which ought to be read from the beginning to the end. It is a work teeming with facts laboriously ascertained, and which may be studied with advantage by Indian administrators and the students of Indian history and antiquities. For gentlemen intending to visit Assam, its value cannot be exaggerated. Such a work by a Bengali gentleman is almost a phenomenon, which clearly indicates the commencement of a new era in the life of the Bengali people. We should like to see this work translated into English. Its literary merits are as striking as its other excellences.

Jagannáth Tarakapanchánan Jiban Brittá. By the late Umá Charan Bhattáchárjya. Printed by Nandalál Basu at the Sádharáni Press, Chinsurah, 1880 A. D.

THE object of this work is stated to be to publish anecdotes relating to the great Hindu lawyer which previous biographers have not described, and which he, as a lineal descendant of Jagannáth, has had exceptional opportunities of collecting. Jagannáth Tarakapanchánan is a well-known name in Hindu law. He wrote a learned treatise on Hindu law called the *Viváda Bhagárnava*, which is better known in its English form under the name of Colebrooke's *Digest*. As a lawyer and scholar, Jagannáth was a leviathan of his time. The memoir constructed in this volume with a number of anecdotes is interesting for many reasons. In the first place, it relates to an orthodox Hindu *pandit* who had a mind and a body equally gigantic. In the second place, it relates to a period in the history of Bengal in which the *pandit* of the *tole* was a social figure of even greater importance than Rajas and semi-independent zemindars. In the third place, it shows us a Sanskrit scholar successfully acting the part of a political intriguer at the court of Murshidabad. Lastly, it gives us one or two curious peeps into the first years of the East India Company's rule in Bengal. We cannot, within our brief limits, present the reader with a full-sized portrait of Jagannáth. We shall, therefore, conclude this notice with a short extract, in which the great *pandit* is found speaking as a rational student of Hindu polytheism. An anxious religious inquirer having asked him to explain how polytheism could be reconciled

with the doctrine of the unity of the Godhead, he spoke as follows :—

“The *sāstras* are not false. Suppose a band of *jātrāwāllās* come to your house, and their headman, pleading want of scenic apparatus, asks you to furnish him, when he wants to represent a particular character, with exactly the dress and other articles which would be required by him to personate *that* character ; and you agree. The performance begins, and the headman wants to personate the sage Nārada. But instead of supplying him with white clothes, white hair for the beard, a pair of white moustaches, long-matted hair for the head, and a lyre, you give him a pair of bangles, anklets for the leg, and a silk *sāree* ; and when he wants to personate Jasodā, you give him what you should have given him when he wanted to personate Nārada. It is the same head-singer in the two cases ; but would he be pleased or displeased with you ? [Inquirer—“ displeased.”] [Jagannāth continues]—The *sāstras* say precisely the same thing. For your own satisfaction, you are representing God in various shapes as if He were an actor. Give Him the shape which would suit Him best for any particular purpose, or He will be displeased. If you seek to represent Him as Shib, ashes, *bel* leaves, *datura* flowers, &c., will serve Him best. If you seek to represent Him as Krishna, the *tulasi* garland, cream, curd and cheese will serve Him best. If you seek to represent Him as Kālī, red sandal-ointment, the *jabā* flower, and flesh-meat will serve Him best. The *sāstras* only instruct you to do this. Consequently, they are not false.”

Works like the one under notice are really useful and interesting. We have, therefore, much pleasure to recommend to our readers this memoir of a great Hindu lawyer.

Bhārat-mahilā. By Hara Prasād Sāstri, M. A. Printed by Rādhānāth Bandyopādhyāya at the Bangadarsan Press, Kāntālpārā, and published at the Sanskrit Press Depository, Calcutta, 1287, B. S.

WE learn that the Maharaja Holkar, in one of his recent visits to Calcutta, inspected the Sanskrit College and offered a prize of Rs. 200 for the best paper on “The Highest Ideal of Female Characters as set forth in early Sanskrit works.” The competition was confined to the students of the Sanskrit College, and Mr. Hara Prasād Sāstri, author of the publication under notice, obtained the promised reward. We feel no hesitation in saying that Mr. Hara Prasād’s work deserved a much more substantial reward than the paltry sum of Rs. 200 which

he has received as his consideration for writing it. His treatment of the subject of ancient Hindu women, as described in Sanskrit literature in its numerous branches, is a masterly one, and challenges admiration. For clearness of exposition, correct classification, and appropriate division of the subject into parts, the performance is all that could be desired. Mr. Hara Prasád has ransacked the Purans, the Smritis, the epics, the narrative poems, the dramas, the works of fiction, all that needed to be consulted, in order to bring together all that ancient Hindus have thought and said concerning the duties, obligations, and virtues of the sex. The information he has collected is really vast and valuable, and derives additional interest from the beauty and logical accuracy of the method in which he has presented it. The female ideal, as contained in the Smritis, Purans, poems and dramas, is divided by him into certain types or classes marked by different mental characteristics, and its value and importance are tested by comparison with the female ideal in other parts of the world. In completing his picture of the ideal Hindu woman, there is not a point of interest, it strikes us, however small or minute, which has been omitted by Mr. Sástri. Mr. Sástri's work is, in fact, an excellent monograph on a subject of surpassing interest, written with the ease, ability, erudition and intelligence of a master. There is much in Sanskrit literature which deserves careful study in all parts of the world; but there are, for obvious reasons, few who have the time and resources that would be needed to make them Sanskrit scholars. The best interests of mankind demand, therefore, that scholars like Mr. Hara Prasád Sástri gather from the gigantic mass of Sanskrit literature valuable monographs like the one under notice on subjects bearing upon men's nearest concerns. And we are further of opinion that such monographs, if prepared by Indian scholars, would be better representatives of ancient Hindu thought and feeling than monographs written by European Orientalists. For those who would form a correct idea of the position of women among Hindus, Mr. Sástri's work possesses great value. It is curious to note that the men who are denounced in Europe and even in this country as having been cruel and cowardly oppressors of the sex in ancient India were the men who thought most grandly of woman and spoke of her in a tone of sweetest sympathy. We would strongly recommend the translation of Mr. Sástri's admirable essay into English in order that Englishmen may get an opportunity of understanding and appreciating the ancient Hindus and may judge for themselves that English education and English example, so much decried by interested religious propagandists, are at least converting a race of

idle story-tellers into a race of industrious scholars and useful literary workers.

Nirjharini (gitikábya), Pratham Khanda. By Debendra Náth Sen. Printed at the Iswar Chandra Basu and Company's Stanhope Press, 249, Bowbazar, Calcutta, and published by the Author at Gházipur, 1287, B. S.

IN the last number of this *Review* we had the pleasure to notice in terms of praise another poem by Babu Debendra Náth Sen, entitled *Phulabálá*. We are sorry to say we cannot speak of his new work *Nirjharini* in terms of equal praise. It consists of a number of lyrical poems ; but their subjects, we are sorry to say, are, with a few exceptions, of the stock kind used by writers of such pieces. Widowhood, zenana seclusion, and other social customs and institutions are not, as Bengali poets seem to think, fit subjects for poetry. And although they have been impressed into the Muse's service times without number, the last poet that has written about them has not said anything which the first did not say. Love pieces of the kind met with in this work are also wanting in depth and are vapid and verbose after a fashion. Babu Debendra Náth writes better about flowers than about anything else, and we would therefore advise him to study what he seems to love best with undivided attention and to give us the result of his deepest meditations at *long* intervals. It is not good to publish poems with lightning rapidity, or to write a poem except upon impulse profoundly stirring and deeply felt. Babu Debendra Náth should go on studying flowers in the light of science, in the light of mythology, in the light of the sky above and the earth below, in any other light that may break in upon him ; and when he feels that he cannot contain their voice, then and only then should he communicate that voice to those who know not how to listen to it, or to make out what it means. The piece entitled "*Udasini*" is good. That entitled "*Jabá Kusum*" is also good. It opens with the stanza marked A, and closes with the stanza marked B.

A.

“গেঁথ না আমার লাগি চম্পকের হার,
তাহা পরিব না গলে ;
আমার হৃদয় ফাঁপা, তারোপরে কেন চাঁপা
চাপাইবে ? চাঁপা লয়ে কি কাজ আমার ?
আমি পরিবনা চম্পকের হার ।

B.

রক্তিম জবার মালা তখন গাঁথিও
 নয়ন সলিল পূর্ণ ;
 আমারে তুলিয়ে খাটে, যাইবে ত্রিবেণীঘাটে,
 শুভ লগ্নে শুভক্ষণে গলে মোর দিও,
 সেই, আপনার সাধ মিটাইও ।

These two stanzas show that Babu Debendra Náth would do better as a painter of flowers than of anything else. And if he can paint flowers well and effectively, he should not regret that he has not painted anything else. Great masters of art do not do miscellaneous work. True merit consists not in doing many things, as Bengali poets seem to think, but in doing one thing in a masterly style. There was never a great poetical fame that rested upon the performance of miscellaneous work.

Sanskrit Philosophers on the Vedas. By Prasanna Kumár Bidyáratna, Translator of Manu-sanhita. Printed by Rájkrishna Sinha at the Berhampore Dhanasindhu Press, and published by Prasanna Kumár Bidyáratna, 1288, B. S.

IT is the object of this treatise to explain the different views which were entertained by the authors of the six great philosophical systems of India concerning the authority and importance of the Vedas. The subject has not much practical value for us, though its importance from the point of view of the student of Hindu philosophy and theology cannot be denied. But the work under notice, besides dealing with the main question, gives a brief general view of the philosophical systems. We wish, however, that the author had said more about those systems than he has done, and stated what he had to say in clearer language. The peculiar philosophical vocabulary of India is a source of difficulty to all but the most accomplished Sanskrit scholars, desirous of entering into the meaning and spirit of the systems of philosophy. This difficulty, we are sorry to observe, Pandit Prasanna Kumár has done nothing to remove. He deals largely in Sanskrit philosophical terms, and his exposition of doctrines, which is obscure on account of its brevity, has been rendered doubly unintelligible by his adoption of a technical phraseology. We trust Pandit Prasanna Kumár will take these remarks in a friendly spirit and shape future editions of his work according to the popular requirements of the time. He is a competent scholar, and we only hope that he will look upon his really interesting work as barely commenced and not finished. The get-up of the book is very bad.

Madirá By Bhubaneswar Mitra. Printed and published by Kshetra Mohan Mukhopádhyaýa at the Saraswati Press, 20, Jhámápur Lane, Calcutta, 1287, B. S.

BABU BHUBANESWAR MITRA has already acquired a good reputation as a Bengali writer, which the work under notice would be sure to enhance. It is a treatise on the history and composition of spirituous liquors and the effects of their use on the human constitution. The entire treatise, we are bound to say, is written with admirable care and mastery of the subject, and a large number of authorities have been consulted in its preparation. The author's treatment of his subject is throughout clear and methodical, and his style is easy and popular enough to be intelligible to people who possess no scientific knowledge of any kind. The most interesting portion of the work is that in which the origin of spirituous liquors and the subject of their use among Aryan nations in general and in ancient India in particular, are explained and discussed. Altogether, the work is an exceedingly valuable monograph prepared with great care, industry and literary skill, and with the very laudable object of proving to educated Bengali Babus the necessity of abstaining from intoxicating drinks.

Sarat-Sashi ; Sámayik Upanyás. Part I. By Nisi Kumár Ghosh. Printed and published by Ramánáth Ghosh at the New Arya Press, Calcutta 1288, B. S.

THIS is the first part of a new novel written with the view of depicting modern Bengali life. Sarat, the hero of the story, is an educated Bengali Babu, bold, honest and straightforward, who makes speeches, writes articles in newspapers, declaims against oppression and tyranny, &c. He seems to be the author's ideal of what Bengalis should be. The story is made up of sensational incidents not very skilfully developed. The author has endeavoured to reproduce the style of Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterji, but with no more success than the author of *Dui Bhagní* noticed above. The following from *Sarat-Sashi* are perhaps worse than the parallel passages we have extracted from *Dui Bhagní* :—

(a) বৈশাখ মাস, রাত্রি দ্বিতীয় প্রহর। ঝড়ের পর চন্দ্র দ্বিগুণতর জ্যোতিতে প্রকাশ পাইতেছে—সর্বত্র আলোকময় হইয়াছে—বিভাবরী যেন হাসিতেছে। সর্বত্র নিস্তব্ধ; কেবল মধ্যে মধ্যে পেচক উড়িতেছে—বেড়াইয়া বেড়াইতেছে,—নাচিতেছে, ডাকিতেছে, চন্দ্ৰের নিকট কি যেন বলিতেছে—দুরূহ ভাগীরথীর পার পর্যন্ত প্রতিধ্বনিত হইতেছে।

(b) সেই গভীর রজনীতে, সেই বাগানের পার্শ্বে, সেই বালুকা-রাশির উপরে পঞ্চবিংশতি বর্ষীয় এ যুবক কে?

(c) যুবক বসিয়া যেন কি ভাবিতেছে ইতস্ততঃ দৃষ্টি করিতেছে কাহার জন্য যেন অপেক্ষা করিতেছে মধ্য মধ্য অক্ষুটস্বরে কি কি বলিতেছে।

(d) যুবক থাকিয়া থাকিয়া দাঁড়াইল; দাঁড়াইয়া দাঁড়াইয়া কি দেখিল; দেখিয়া দেখিয়া পুনরায় বসিল।

Altogether the literary execution of *Sarat-Sashi* is not so good as it might probably have been if the author had used his own natural style instead of emulating the style of another writer. Babu Nisi Kumār seems to be a man of parts, and we would therefore advise him to rely more largely upon his own resources. The work under notice gives sufficient indication of artistic power.
